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VOL. VII, 1945

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PROFESSOR S. H. HODIWALA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

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Pl. I



The late Prof. H. S. Hodiwala, M. A.

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. VII, 1945

Parts I & II

PROF. S. H. HODIWALA COMMEMORATION VOLUME.

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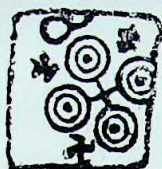
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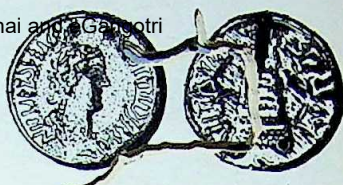


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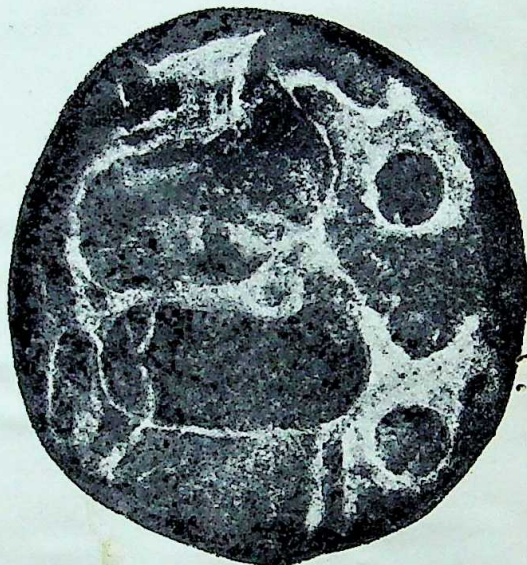


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A COIN OF KING SĀTAVĀHANA

BY PRIN. V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

The coin published here for the first time is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan), who is keenly interested in the collection of ancient coins. Mr. Kaus sent me an excellent estampage of it which is reproduced in the accompanying plate, **Pl. II. 1**, and supplied me information about its size and weight. As desired by him, I publish it in this Journal. Students of ancient Indian history will be thankful to Mr. Kaus for the prompt steps he took for the publication of this unique coin.

It is a copper coin, square in shape, each side measuring .80". It weighs 110 grains. It has on the obverse the figure of an elephant standing to right, with trunk upraised, having in front a peculiar symbol¹ consisting of two flattened circles on a vertical line. Above the back of the elephant appears what Mr. Allan calls a triangle-headed standard with a cross bar². This symbol occurs on the punch-marked and other coins of several north-Indian cities such as Kauśāmbī, Taxilā, Ayodhyā, Almorā, Ujjaini and Eraṇ, but there it invariably appears in a vertical position. On some other early Sātavāhana coins³ it appears laid horizontally as on the present coin, but it occurs there in front of the elephant. Above this symbol is placed diagonally the legend giving the king's name, commencing at the lower left corner. On the reverse side of the coin there appears the well-known Ujjain symbol, each orb of which contains a pellet within two circles. Outside this symbol, opposite the two upper corners there appears the same peculiar symbol which is noticed on the obverse in front of the elephant. On the third side is seen a *Svastika*, but with ends turned unusually in the reverse direction. It is noteworthy that the *svastika* of the usual type appears on the obverse of some other early Sātavāhana coins⁴. Surmounting the Ujjain symbol in the upper left corner there appears a partially cut *nandīpāda*.

I read the legend as *Raṁṇo siri-Sātavāha[nasa*]*, meaning, (This coin is) 'of the king the illustrious Sātavāhana.' It will be noticed that last two *aksharas* of the legend have

1. A somewhat similar symbol occurs on a coin of Vishnudeva of Kanauj. See Allan, *Coins of Ancient India* (B. M. C.), Pl. XIX, 13.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiv, etc. Prinsep called it *Jayadhvaja*. The symbol sometimes appears in railing like an ordinary tree. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxix.

3. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, etc. (B. M. C.), Pl. I, Nos. 5 and 6.

4. *Ibid.*, Pl. I, No. 9.

been lost at the upper right corner. The characters are somewhat earlier than those of the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions. Specially noteworthy are the forms of the cursive *a* with its curve open on the left, *v* the lower limb of which is not yet flattened and *h* which has a short vertical. The *anusvāra* of *ra* appears on the right below the top. These forms show that the coin is of about the last quarter of the third century B.C.

The legend is in Prakrit as on other Sātavāhana coins. Specially worthy of note is the form *rañño* for *rañño*. This form with the *anusvāra* on *ra* occurs also on the lead coin of the king Sāta¹, but it was not noticed by Rapson. On later coins the form is *raṇā* (for *rañño*) or *raño* (for *rañño*). The royal name appears here in the form *Sādavāhana* (for *Sātavāhana*) as in the Nāsik cave inscription of the reign of Krishṇa.² The inscription of Puṣumāvi at Nāsik as well the Nānāghaṭ inscription have the Sanskrit form of the name, *Sātavāhana*, unchanged.

The coin is thus of the king Sātavāhana who was plainly the founder of the dynasty named after him. The Purāṇas call this dynasty Āndhra, but that name occurs nowhere in its inscriptions. On the other hand, two inscriptions in the Nāsik caves name this royal family as *Sātavāhana-kula* or *Sādavāhana-kula*.³ The family was therefore evidently founded by a king named Sātavāhana even as the Gupta family was founded by Mahārāja Gupta, but the Purāṇas nowhere name such a king in their list of the so-called Āndhra kings. It was therefore doubted whether there was ever a king named Sātavāhana and various ingenious explanations of the dynastic name Sātavāhana were suggested. Jayaswal thought that the Sātavāhanas were connected with the Satiyaputas mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka, and in support of this conjecture drew attention to the fact that the oldest Sātavāhana coin is struck in the name of Sāta only.⁴ Przyluski supposed that Sātavāhana was a Sanskritised form of the Austro-Asiatic name meaning a son of horse.⁵ Other derivations of the dynastic name such as 'having Sāta for his emblem' have also been suggested.⁶ All these speculations have now been set at rest by the discovery of the present coin which indubitably proves

1. *Ibid.*, Pl. I, No. 1.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 93.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.; p. 93.

4. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 442, n. 24. But Jayaswal did not notice that this Sāta is called *Rājan* 'king'.

5. *J. R. A. S.* (1928), pp. 274 ff.; *I. H. Q.*, Vol V, p. 388.

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 599, n. 3.

that a king named Sātavāhana flourished in the Deccan in the last quarter of the third century B. C.¹

The royal name appears in a complete form for the first time on this coin. The square potin coins, Nos. 5 and 6 of Rapson's *Catalogue*, having the device of the Elephant with upraised trunk² associated with the rather rare triangle-headed standard, were probably struck by this very king; but their legends being incomplete, they were ascribed to the king Sātakarṇi³. Similarly, the round lead coin with the elephant device and the legend *rañño siri-Sātasa* (Rapson, I, 1) may also have been issued by him,⁴ but in the absence of definite knowledge about a king named Sātavāhana, it also was supposed to have been struck by Sātakarṇi. On the ground of fabric, type and palæography, these coins of king Sāta can be shown to be much earlier than others catalogued by Rapson. They were probably struck by the founder of the dynasty.

The Purāṇas mention Śiśuka as the first Andhra king who overthrew the last ruler of the Kāṇva dynasty, destroyed the

[1. I agree with this view of Prin. Mirashi. In its further support it may be pointed out that among the figure label inscriptions found at Nāpāghāt, mention is made of Kumāra Sātavāhana, along with king Simuka, queen Nāyanikā, king Sātakarṇi, Mahāraṭhi Traṇakayira and Kumāras Hakuśiri and Sātavāhana (*A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 64). Although there is no conclusive evidence on the point, it seems very probable that Bühler's conjecture that Kumāra Sātavāhana was the elder son, or at least one of the sons of king Sātakarṇi, is most likely to be in conformity with the actual reality. Prince Sātavāhana therefore was a junior contemporary of king Sātakarṇi, the second ruler of the house. It may be that in his own time he was better known by his personal name Sātavāhana, which he used on his coins; posterity perhaps knew him by the title Sātakarṇi, which has been preserved in the Purāṇas. If we accept this conjecture, the present coin will have to be attributed to king Sātavāhana, who figures as a prince in the Nāpāghāt inscription. It is well known how in the royal families, the same names recur very frequently. We can therefore suggest alternatively that king Sātakarṇi named his son Sātavāhana because it was the name of one of his recent and famous ancestors, as suggested by Prin. Mirashi later on in this paper. In that case, the coin will have to be attributed to him. I regard the last alternative as less probable; for it is very doubtful whether in the last quarter of the 3rd century B. C., the Sātavāhanas had started issuing inscribed currency.

Chief Editor.]

2. See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhras*, etc. (B. M. C.), Pl. I. These coins contain some symbols which went out of use in later times.

3. The legends on these coins have been almost completely lost. The two letters *nasa* which can be seen on coin 5 show that the legend must have been *Sātavāhanasa* rather than *Sātakarṇisa*.

4. The characters of this coin are very old. Notice also the form *rañño* to which attention has been drawn above. The name *Sātavāhana* may have been shortened into *Sāta* for want of space as the letters on this coin are very bold.

remaining power of the Śuṅgas and attained imperial position.¹ This Śiśuka is generally identified with Śimuka, whose relieve figure still exists in a cave at Nānāguat.² He is named there as Śimuka Sātavāhana, but he cannot be identical with the king who issued the present coin, for his brother Kṛishṇa is described in a Nāsik cave inscription as belonging to the Sātavāhana family.³ Both Śimuka and Kṛishṇa were probably descended from a king named Sātavāhana who preceded them by some generations⁴. The Purāṇas do not name him, probably because he was a local ruler and had not yet attained imperial status. That he had declared his independence is however clear from the present coin.

Where was this Sātavāhana ruling? For answering this question we must have accurate information about the find-spot of these coins. Mr. Kaus informs me that he obtained the present coin from a dealer of Wāraṅgaḷ. Where the latter had obtained it is not known. Three months ago, I saw the plaster cast of a similar coin, though smaller in size, which Dr. M. G. Dikshit had obtained from Mr. S. A. Joglekar of Poona.⁵ The latter had purchased it from a dealer of Aurangabād. Unfortunately, the provenance of both these coins has not been definitely recorded, but we may suppose that they were found somewhere in the central parts of the Hyderabad State. Their type 'Elephant with upraised trunk' was current in the central parts of the Deccan, between the Narmadā and the Kṛishṇā; for potin and lead coins of this type have been found at Tarhālā in the Akolā district of Berar,⁶ Chāndā in the Central Provinces⁷ and Koṇḍāpur, 43 miles west-north-west of Hyderabad in the Medak District of the Hyderabad State.⁸ This type seems to have been first introduced by the king Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, and kept up by his successors in their home province. When the empire of the Sātavāhanas extended to other provinces, they introduced other types such as the horse, the lion and the Chaitya, but the Elephant type seems to have been generally confined to the central Deccan, which may have been the home province of the Sātavāhanas.

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 38. That this chronology of the dynasties is incorrect has been shown by Rapson. *Camb. Hist.* Vol. I, p. 318.

2. *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 64.

3. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 93. That Śimuka had a brother named Kṛishṇa is known from the Purāṇas. See Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 39.

4. Had he been the father of Kṛishṇa, the latter would have been described in the Nāsik cave inscription as *Sādavāhana-pute*, rather than as *Sādavāhana-kule*.

5. I understand that Dr. Dikshit is going to publish this coin in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona.

6. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. II, pp. 88 ff.

7. *J. A. S. B.* (1893), pp. 116 ff.

8. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 171 ff., Pl. XIV and XV.

A UNIQUE SĀTAVĀHANA LEAD COIN

BY CAPT. P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD (DN.)

I publish here a new Sātavāhana coin which is unique in several respects.

Metal, lead; wt. 160. 1 grs.; size 1.5"

Obverse

Two horses to right, with three discs in front and a three-pointed symbol above each horse. No trace of legend.

Pl. II, 3, (original size)

Pl. II. 4. (enlarged size)

Reverse

Traces of tree but much defaced.

• There are several Sātavāhana lead coins, some with horse standing to right and others to left with different symbols above the horse; their reverse shows Chaitya, tree, the wavy lines with intervening dots, etc. But no Sātavāhana lead coin with two horses has, so far as I know, yet been brought to light, nor is it mentioned in any Museum Catalogues. It is therefore a unique coin.

[Though uninscribed, the attribution of this coin either to the Sātavāhanas or to one of their feudatories may be regarded as fairly certain. The present coin can be compared with the coin of Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajñasātakarṇi from Andhrdeśa illustrated in Rapson's Catalogue, Pl. VI, 148. Both have the same size and metal; in both, the horse is facing right. But Yajña's coin has no pellet before the horse and has a crescent above it, which is absent on the present coin. The present coin bears greater resemblance to the Anantpur and Cuddappah districts type, illustrated in Rapson's Catalogue at Pl. V, 105 and 106. Both have horse to the right with a pellet in front; the symbol on the back of the horse is also similar in both; the weight of both is almost the same; in one case it is 161.8 grains and in the other 160.1 grains. We may therefore assign the present coin to the Anantpur and Cudappah districts type of Rapson's Catalogue. As it bears no inscription, it is difficult to state whether it can be conjecturally attributed, like the above coin in the British Museum, to Hārītīputra-Chūtu-Sātakarṇi. Prima facie, the coin seems to be double struck, but that cannot explain the presence of three pellets. *Chief Editor*]

THE CHAKERBEDHA FIND OF TWO AUREI

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, MADRAS

In the last quarter of 1942 two Roman coins of gold,—aurei in denomination,—were discovered in a field at village Chakerbedha, tahsil and district Bilaspur, Central Provinces, India, while preparing the land for chilli sowing. Along with these was found one gold ear-ring of the modern type, but no vessel or pot was discovered along with the coins. It appears that there are no traces of any historical remains at the place where the coins were found. One of the coins bears a cut while the other does not. The weights and the sizes of the coins are: Coin with the cut-mark, weight 112 grains, size .8": other coin, weight 107 grains, size .75". Each of the coins bears two holes, near the periphery and fairly close to each other, punched, evidently, to permit of their being strung together as components of a necklace.¹

The coin that has escaped the chisel may be described thus:

Obv. Commodus, bust, laureate, draped, cuirassed, right;
M COMM ANT [P F]²EL AVG BRIT PP

Rev. Winged Caduceus, upright, between two crossed cornucopiae;

[T]³EMP FELIC PM T[RP]² X[V IM]²P VIII COS
VI.⁴

Pl. II, 2

This issue belongs to the year 190 A.D. and to the mint of Rome.⁵ The condition of the coin is intermediate between somewhat worn and very worn.

The other coin is so Roman in essentials,—in general appearance, in weight and in size, and especially in the types,

1. In April 1943 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, then Director-General of Archaeology in India, had the kindness to draw my attention to this find and to put plaster-casts of the coins in my hands for study. Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, Central Provinces, where the coins are preserved, has been good enough not only to furnish me with particulars of the find, further plaster-casts and good ink-sketches, but also to permit me to describe and discuss the find. This paper is based on a study of the casts and the sketches. The details about the discovery and weights of the coins are based upon the information kindly supplied to me by Dr. S. S. Patwardhan. I owe a loan of H. Mattingly's *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. iv (1940), to Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the present Director-General of Archaeology in India.

2. These characters have been obliterated by the holes.

3. The letter is badly worn out.

4. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, iv. 741. 282, pl. 98. 5.

5. It appears to be possible that the dies were produced in Rome and sent to the provinces for the minting, stocks of the metals being kept in the provinces themselves: Mattingly, *op. cit.*, iv. Intr. 18.

and yet the types are such bad renderings and the legends are such faint echoes that we have to accept the coin for an imitation of an original that was Roman. It does not show signs of perceptible wear, but the reverse has been cut with a chisel and, as a result, the details of the reverse type are not easy to make out and much of the head on the obverse has been smashed flat where it rested on the anvil. It is illustrated in Plate II, and in Figure 2, the latter of which contains also a transcription of the legends by themselves.

On a consideration of the probabilities the Roman original of this piece may be taken to be an issue from Rome¹ described thus :

Obv. Head of Divus Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, bare, right ;
DIVVS M ANTONINVS PIVS

Rev. Funeral pyre in four tiers, crowned by quadriga facing front in which stands Sol, raising right hand : the lowest tier is garlanded, the second has a door between four statues in niches, two left, two right, the third has five statues in niches, the fourth is draped and has a torch, left or right ;
CONSECRATIO.²

Though this issue was initiated in 180 A.D., it 'must have lasted beyond the actual ceremony of inauguration' of Commodus, 'but there is no suggestion in the types of a very long continuance'.³

The legends on this piece are curiosities. Their lengths differ from those of the legends on the original and the groupings of the characters are also different : so, it is not possible to deduce these legends from those on the original. While the characters of the obverse legend retain a resemblance to those of the Latin alphabet, those of the reverse legend seem to belong to a wholly different graphic system. So, it is only in a limited sense that this piece could be treated as an imitation.

1. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, iv. 698. 25, cf. pl. 91. 14. An earlier issue, in gold and of 161(?) A.D., with which Marcus Aurelius commemorated the consecration of Antoninus Pius, *Ib.* iv. 393. 55, pl. 54. 12, might have served for the original, but the facial lineaments of the emperor are different. Another 'consecration' issue, of 169 A.D. and the years immediately following, in silver and in honour of Lucius Verus, *Ib.* iv. 456. 505, pl. 62. 20, is, for the same reason, disqualified to be the original : perhaps, an additional reason may be suggested,—that a silver issue is scarcely likely to have furnished the model for a gold imitation,—all the more so, when the imitation accords perfectly in its weight with the prevailing standard for gold.

2. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, iv. Intr. 143-4.

3. In all probability this is an overstatement, my only sources of information being the notices of the imitations or the 'barbarous' specimens by Mattingly in his work cited above and by him and by E. A. Sydenham in their *Roman Imperial Coinage*. Practically no other literature of value on the subject is available to me.

Neither of the legends appears to be capable of being deciphered in terms of any known alphabet or language.

The imitations of Roman coins that have so far attracted attention are much nearer the originals than our piece, both in the types and in the legends, their deviations from the norm being but slight. Specimens such as this one, testifying to greater debasement and yet retaining an unimpeachable similarity, do not seem to be known in Europe or to have come to light in those regions of the far flung Roman Empire that lay on the way to India.¹ A number of pieces which seem to be as bad imitations as our piece have been recovered as treasure trove in the Madras Province, mainly, and just a few years back, there has been found, in the excavations at Kondapur, in the Nizam's Dominions, a find of imitations, in clay, of coins which themselves were imitations of Roman coins.²

A review of the available evidence appears to establish that imitations, such as ours, arose along the eastern margins of the Roman empire to supplement an all too restricted supply of currency in gold. They used to be in circulation, along with the true issues, not only in those frontier lands but also in other regions which, lying beyond a frontier that shifted fairly often and fairly violently, came frequently to be subject to powers which, now and again, fell into conflict with Rome. On the outbreak of war the hostile powers plied the chisel at the heads of the Roman emperors on those Roman coins that were then caught ambling about within their dominions and branded them as issues of an unfriendly state. But the coins, though thus mauled, continued moving about in those territories mingling with the fresh arrivals that crept in when friendly relations were re-established. All these series of coins, perhaps, with even fresh imitations, after varying terms of sojourn in such lands, started on further journeys, in such company as was possible, and in due course reached India. Here, perhaps meeting and mingling with similar coins that had arrived earlier or by other routes, they circulated for some time in the country and ultimately, worn out with their journeys, retired to long rest in the bosom of the earth.³ Both the coins of this find seem to confirm these conclusions.

1. G. Yazdani in *ABORI*, XXII, 179, 13b.

2. Our piece is exceptional in that the defacement is of the reverse type, symbolising the consecration of the emperor. It is not to be thought of that the cut is the token of objection to the consecration of the emperor: it is unthinkable that the objection was raised over sixty years after the event and by those of the distant east to whom it mattered little whether a dead emperor was honoured with consecration or was not.

3. Here I am summarising the results reached by me in my *Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, now in the press, on a study of all known Indian finds of such coins.

The undefaced coin, which is also a genuine piece as we have seen above, came out of the mint in 190 A.D., and its wear indicates that it kept on the move for about three fourths of a century and became dormant about 265 A.D.¹ and that in its career it did not get caught in one of the paroxysms of paracharaxis. The defaced coin,—the imitation aureus,—shows no signs of a wear which suggests that when it probably joined its companion about 265 A.D. it had been long in circulation: so, it might have been fabricated about 240 A.D. But this coin, weighing 112 grains as it does, imitates an original of 180 A.D. and the years immediately following, and conforms to a weight standard which Rome maintained till about 193 A.D. No Roman mint would have issued a coin at this weight some years later, Didius Julianus having effected a tentative reduction of the weight to 103 grains² and Diocletian having in 215 A.D. confirmed the reduction and fixed the weight at 101 grains.³ If this piece was fabricated about 240 A.D.,—that is, about half a century after its weight standard had ceased to be observed in Rome and a trifle more than half a century after the issue of its original,—we cannot explain its adherence to a standard and its simulation of an original which both were half a century ancient, except on the basis that it is only coins so old that were then current in the area where this piece was manufactured and that later issues of the reduced standards had not then flowed in. The disturbed economic life of the empire in the century must account for the spread of the imperial currency of Rome at such sluggish pace. If, however, relying on this piece having been manufactured about 240 A.D. and on its being of practically the same weight as that of the coinage introduced in Persia by the Sassanids on their rise to power in 226 A.D.,⁴ we argued that the piece represents an adherence to the Sassanian standard and not a harking back to a standard abandoned by Rome about fifty years back, we should expect the piece to have pronounced affinities to the Sassanian issues, while, in fact, it is all too patent that it is an imitation of a Roman issue. Nor would the coin have, then, suffered the chisel-cut, there being no evidence that paracharaxis was a practice adopted by the Romans at any time.⁵

If the imitation coin was born about 240 A.D. and if it ceased running in about 265 A.D., it might have received the

1. This estimate of the duration of the currency of a piece on the basis of the extent of the wear it exhibits, and the other estimates that follow, are based on an examination of the point in my *Catalogue*.

2. Mattingly & Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, iv. i. Intr. 6.

3. Mattingly *Roman Coins*, 125.

4. de Morgan, *Manuel de numismatique Orientale*, pp. 312-3.

5. Is it likely that the Sassanians themselves fixed their weight standard of this period on the model of the Roman standard of 112 grains? Is this, then, a confirmation of the conjecture above about the tardiness and the thinness of the flow of Roman coinage to the margins of the Roman empire in this period?

gaping wound it bears in a season of paracharaxis that set in with the hostilities between Gordian III and Shapur I in 242-4 A. D., or in the other season of bitter antagonism which, starting in 252 A. D., ended in 260 A. D. with the capture of Valerian by Shapur I.

The other coin, issuing from the mint in 190 A. D., might have made its way to India through countries not subject to violent fits of Roma-phobia. If, however, we have to assume that its course must have lain through a region hostile to Rome, we shall have to take it that it journeyed at the leisurely pace which, then, was perhaps normal. It may have reached the extreme eastern margins of the Roman empire about the close of one of the periods of hostilities,—those of 237-8 A. D. in which Ardashir overran Mesopotamia, or of 242-4 or of 252-60 A. D. already referred to. That it entered the region of chisel cuts in an intervening period when there was no provocation for them and that it departed from that area on further journeys before the next onset of fierce antagonism may also be presumed.

The date suggested above for the cessation of the circulation of these two coins is based on an assumption that both of them were at the same time converted from current coins into ornamental pieces. The assumption is grounded, not on specific data, but on a feeling that if two coins were perforated for being strung as pendants in two different jewels, at different dates and in different places, they are scarcely likely to have had the equal fortune of release from the jewellery and of a fresh career as currency. The length of time which elapsed between the coins becoming components of a necklace and their descent under the sod is a point on which we have no basis for even a suggestion.

Much of the ambiguity and the tentativeness of the conclusions reached above is due to our ignorance of the vicissitudes of Roman coins in the regions now comprised in eastern Turkey, Iraq and Iran. Finds in India such as the present one emphasise the need for a co-ordination of numismatic studies in India with similar investigations in those countries.

A NEW VARIETY OF THE LANKEY BULL TYPE OF KAUSĀMBĪ.

By S. C. KALA, M. A., CURATOR,

ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM.

The present coin was acquired by the writer at Kauśāmbī many years ago and it remained with him till 1941 when it was presented by him to the Garhwal Museum at Pauri. It belongs to the cast coins series of Kauśāmbī, usually known as the Lankey-Bull type; but it is remarkable for certain variations in the usual type and additional symbols which it shows. It is also remarkably heavy and thick. Like most other coins of this type, it is uninscribed. The edges of the coin have been filed off, but a knob still remains to show the place from where the molten metal was poured. Its metal is bronze, weight 470 grains and size, 1.25" in diameter.

Obverse: Bull to the right in high relief, running; above, three-arched crescented hill.

Reverse: To the left, knob with a semi-circle above and below; to the right a sickle; above, faint traces of a third symbol, which seems to have been a cursive large *svastika*.

Pl. II, 5.

The type of the present coin is usually known as the Lankey-Bull type, but there can be no doubt that the animal on our coin is fairly robust and energetic. The crescented three-arched hill, which appears on the obverse, is also not seen associated with the bull on this type. The three-arched hill alone (without the crescent) is however to be seen on the reverse of certain coin types of Kauśāmbī.² It is well known that the three-arched crescented hill occurs on punch-marked coins found almost all over India, as also on some Mauryan antiquities and monuments; it has therefore been plausibly suggested that it may have been the royal symbol of the Mauryan emperors.³

The symbol of sickle appearing on the reverse is also a rare one; so far it is known to be occurring on some coins found at Rajgir only⁴.

1. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pl. XX. 7; XXI, 12

2. *Ibid.*

3. *J. A. S. B.*, 1984, p. 40 N.

4. *Ibid.*, 1986, p. 11 N.

It is likely that the coin was issued by some authority ruling between the 3rd century B. C. and 1st century B. C. It is not unlikely that it may have been a commemorative medal.

[It is worth noting that several of the symbols, which usually appear on the Lankey-Bull type, do not figure on this coin. The *v*-shaped banner with two prongs to right, which is invariably before the lankey bull, is absent on this coin. The knob, with four semi-circles on four sides, is replaced by the crescented hill. On the reverse we have neither the leafy tree, nor the six-arched hill, nor the wheel surmounted by a circle and *w*-shaped symbol. In stead we have a sickle and a knob with one semi-circle above and one below, and perhaps a wavy *svastika*. I agree with Mr. Kala in thinking that the coin was issued in early times, when it was not felt necessary to crowd both sides with a number of symbols. I do not think that it was a commemorative medal; bronze is hardly likely to be used for a commemorative piece. Chief Editor]

A NEW GOLD COIN OF SKANDAGUPTA FROM N. BENGAL

BY RABIS C. KAR, M.A., B.L., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Recently a gold coin of Skandagupta was found by a Mahommedan cultivator in a field near an ancient site in the Bogra district of Bengal.¹ The coin is of the Archer type. It has on the obverse: King, nimbate, standing in the *dvibhaṅga* pose to left, with right hand extended in the posture of holding an arrow (which is off the flan), and with left hand holding a bow with string inwards; behind right arm *Garuḍadhvaja*; below left arm *Skanda* written vertically; no symbol, and no traces of marginal legend. The reverse has Goddess Lakshmi-Śrī, nimbate(?), seated cross-legged on lotus to front, holding *pāśa* in her right hand and *padma* in her left; above right arm a group of five dots instead of symbol; traces of marginal legend '[K]ra[m]...' on right. **Pl. II, 6.**

The coin is interesting on account of its definitely known provenance in N. Bengal. Gold coins of Skandagupta, known positively to have come from Bengal, are very few in number. One Archer type gold coin of Skandagupta was found near Mahanada in the Hooghly district.² A second gold coin of this king, of the King-and-Lakshmi type, came from Midnapore;³ while a third one, of unrecorded type, is said to have been found in the Faridpore district.⁴ The present coin would, thus, appear to be the fourth specimen of Skandagupta's gold coinage to be recovered from within Bengal. There is another point of interest about the present coin. While both the Mahanada⁵ and the Midnapore⁶ coins of Skandagupta belong to his lighter standard, the present coin appears to have been struck on the heavier *Suvarṇa* standard. It is, therefore, unique as a find from Bengal.

1. The author is indebted to Maulvi Shamsuddin Ahmed, M. A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, through whose kindness he had an opportunity of inspecting the coin, and of determining its weight and size. The coin has since been acquired by the Asutosh Museum of Fine Arts, Calcutta University. See, Press-note on 'Find of Old Coin' in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 13-8-45.

2. *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1882, p. 91; *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 112; Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 115, fn. 1.

3. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 127, no. 7a.

4. R. P. Chanda, *Gaudarājamālā*, p. 5; R. D. Banerjee, *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, I, p. 71. Mr. Chanda does not mention the metal, but Mr. Banerjee declares it to be a gold coin. None of them, however, notices the coin-type.

5. See, *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 112, where Smith includes the Mahanada coin among Skandagupta's Archer type coins of the normal weight of 129 grs.

6. See, Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 127, no. 7a, where the weight of the Midnapore coin is given as 130 grs.

The coin is of very base gold, having the appearance almost of silver. The size of the coin is $\cdot 75''$, and its present weight slightly less than 126 grains. A portion of the coin has been cut off by some sharp instrument. As a result, nearly the whole of the head of the king on the obverse and that of the goddess on the reverse have disappeared. The loss in size amounts to $\cdot 05''$ or one-fifteenth of the diameter. This would mean a loss of about 13.61 grains from the actual weight of the coin which, when intact, would, therefore, have been about 139.61 grains.¹ The coin would, thus, appear to have been struck on the *suvarna* standard of 146.4 grains.² The British Museum has eight specimens of Skandagupta's Archer type of the *suvarna* standard.³ Of these the heaviest, barring no. 425 (with ring), weighs 142.8 grains, and the lightest, excepting no. 424 (worn), 138.7 grains. The average weight of six of the specimens, with the exception of nos. 424-25, is 141.5 grains. In size these coins vary from $\cdot 8''$ (three specimens) to $\cdot 9''$ (one specimen). Besides the above, Mr. Allan also describes two coins of Skandagupta's heavy Archer type, one "from a plaster cast in the B. M." of unknown weight but in size measuring $\cdot 8''$, and the other "in the Hon. Mr. Burn's collection", weighing 141.5 grains and measuring $\cdot 75''$.⁴ The Indian Museum has six specimens of the heavy Archer type of Skandagupta.⁵ Of these the heaviest weighs 141.5 grains and the lightest 135.5 grains. In size five of the coins measure between $\cdot 8''$ and $\cdot 95''$, and only one measures $\cdot 77''$. It will be seen from the above that though it is usual with Skandagupta's gold coins, struck on the *suvarna* standard, to measure $\cdot 8''$ or more, coins measuring $\cdot 75''$ and $\cdot 77''$ are not wholly unknown. The small size ($\cdot 75''$) of the present coin, therefore, does not stand in the way of its being regarded as a heavy-weight coin of Skandagupta.⁶

It may not be out of place to consider here the question of the use of the *suvarna* standard by Skandagupta. According to Mr. Allan, "Skandagupta's coins are struck on two standards both independent of the traditional Kushan standard, which can still be traced in the preceding reigns; of these one is previously found only on certain Archer coins of Chandragupta II; eight specimens of Skandagupta's lighter Archer type and of his King

1. The author is indebted for the mathematical calculations to Dr. S. C. Kar of the Calcutta University.

2. The baseness of the metal and the traces of the marginal legend '[K] ra [m]...' on the reverse are additional factors supporting the inference that the coin belongs to Skandagupta's heavy Archer type. See, Allan, *CIOGDBM*, p. xviii.

3. Allan, *CIOGDBM*, pp. 117-19, nos. 424-31.

4. Allan, *ibid.*, p. 118.

5. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 117, nos. 1-6.

6. It should be noted here that the majority of Skandagupta's light-weight coins of the Archer and the King-and-Lakshmi types measure $\cdot 75''$, only two measuring as much as $\cdot 8''$. See, Allan, *CIOGDBM*, pp. 114-17; Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 117, no. 7, and p. 127, no. 7a.

and Lakshmi type average 131 grains, which recalls the 130.2 yielded by the four specimens of Chandragupta II's coins of this standard."¹ According to him, Chandragupta II employed three standards of which "the first is that of 121 grains in use in the preceding reign; the second of 125 or 126 grains; and the third of 132 grains."² Evidently, in the view of Mr. Allan, the *suvarna* standard was not known in the reign of Chandragupta II. But, as Dr. J. N. Banerjea pointed out to the author, the Indian Museum has a few specimens of Chandragupta II's Archer type, which Smith considers to be struck on the *suvarna* standard.³ The coins are grouped into two sub-varieties according as the name of the king, written vertically, is present in the field or not. Sub-variety 1, with 'Chandra' under left arm, includes three coins (nos. 30-32) of which the heaviest weighs 145.8 grains and the lightest, 141.8 grains.⁴ Sub-variety 2, without king's name, includes two specimens (nos. 33-34), of which the heaviest weighs 146.2 grains and the lightest, 142.1 grains. Smith's attribution of the two coins of sub-variety 2 to Chandragupta II is not accepted by Mr. Allan who would ascribe them to Purugupta or more correctly Purugupta.⁵ It may be pointed out in favour of this attribution of Mr. Allan that the coins in question bear a closer affinity in size and style to the coins of Purugupta than to those of Chandragupta II's heavy Archer type, sub-variety 1.⁶ His own attribution of the coins of sub-variety 2 to Purugupta, and Smith's remark that the coins of sub-variety 1 "may be posthumous"⁷ probably

1. Allan, *CICGDBM*, p. cxxxi.

2. Allan, *ibid.*, p. cxxii.

3. Smith, *CCIM*, I, pp. 106-7, nos. 30-4.

4. Two of these coins are in very base gold. See, Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 107, nos. 31-2. No. 30, however, seems to be of purer metal. Dr. J. N. Banerjea who had an opportunity of inspecting the coin at first hand, is positive that it is of good gold like the lighter Archer coins of Chandragupta II to which it closely resembles in style and execution.

5. Allan, *CICGDBM*, p. cii, fn. 1. Mr. S. K. Saraswati attributes to Budhagupta the coins which Mr. Allan in his Catalogue ascribes to Purugupta. See, *Indian Culture*, I, p. 692. Mr. Krishna Deva has shown that the correct form of the name of this king is Purugupta and not Purugupta. See, *Ep. Ind.*, xxvi, p. 236. Prior to Mr. Krishna Deva, Mr. Jagan Nath had read the name *Pura* on the Nālandā seal of Kumāragupta II. (*Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1940, pp. 60-1). Cunningham also appears to have read the name as *Puru* on one coin. (*JASB*, 1894, p. 212).

6. The two coins of Smith's sub-variety 2 measure .88" and .88", and the three coins of his sub-variety 1 all measure .8"; the three coins of Purugupta's var. b, without 'Puru', measure .9", .95" and .8". The coins of sub-variety 2 are inferior in style and execution to those of sub-variety 1, and resemble those of Purugupta.

7. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 106, fn. 1. While admitting that no. 31 of Smith's sub-variety 1 mentioned above "is probably one of Chandragupta II's coins," Mr. Allan is inclined to attribute nos. 30 and 32, also of this sub-variety, to Chandragupta III *Dvādasāditya* (Allan *CICGDBM*, p. liii, & fn. 1). But it has since been shown that the name of the king on the obverse of the coins with the reverse legend *Śrī-Dvādasāditya* is not *Chandra* but *Vaiṇya*, and that the king is to be identified with Vaiṇyagupta mentioned in the Guṇāghar copper-plate inscription of the year 188 (=507 A.D.) and in a Nālandā seal.

led Mr. Allan to the conclusion that the *suvarṇa* standard was unknown in the reign of Chandragupta II. There seems to be little justification, however, for Smith's suggestion that the heavy-weight coins of Chandragupta II's Archer type with the name 'Chandra' in field (I. M. C. Nos. 30-32) might have been issued after his death. They are almost certainly the contemporary issues of that monarch. Mr. Allan's attribution of these coins to Chandragupta III *Dvādaśāditya* (*CICGDBM*, p. liii, fn. 1) is no longer tenable, as the *Dvādaśāditya* coins really belong to Vainyagupta. As pointed out by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, the three Indian Museum coins, Nos. 30-32, should be attributed to Chandragupta II; otherwise we shall have to postulate the existence of a hitherto-unknown Chandragupta III, also having the epithet of *Śrī-Vikrama* like his famous homonymous predecessor, for all the three Indian Museum coins have *Śrī Vikrama* on the reverse. This is extremely unlikely.

In this connection one would like to point out that the Bodleian collection has a unique gold coin of the Horseman type, 140.5 grains in weight and with the reverse legend *Kramājīta*. Both Smith (*JRAS*, 1889, p. 86) and Rapson (*Num. Chron.* 1891, p. 62) are inclined to attribute it to Chandragupta II. Mr. Allan would, however, ascribe it to Skandagupta (*CICGDBM*, p. c). His reasons for this attribution are the heavy weight of the coin which appears to be struck on the *suvarṇa* standard and the reverse legend *Kramājīta*, which Mr. Allan considers to be similar to Skandagupta's epithet *Kramāditya*. Mr. Allan's arguments are hardly convincing. The heavy weight of the coin does not of itself render its attribution to Chandragupta II impossible. The epithet *Kramājīta* may be similar to *Kramāditya* of Skandagupta, but it is also synonymous with the epithet *Ajītavikramaḥ* of Chandragupta II, occurring on his lighter Horseman type coins. One is therefore inclined to accept Smith's attribution of this coin to Chandragupta II, which is accepted by Rapson. To Chandragupta II may, therefore, be attributed not only the three heavy weight coins of the Archer type in the Indian Museum, but also the heavy Horseman coin in the Bodleian Collection. He struck them on the *suvarṇa* standard probably because they were meant for circulation in a territory where the Kushāṇa standard was unknown and unacceptable.¹ The rarity of these heavy-weight coins further suggests that they were issued late in the reign of Chandragupta II. Chandragupta II, thus, appears

1. The locality where these heavy-weight coins circulated is probably to be identified with Bengal which, of all the regions under the Guptas, was farthest removed from the Kushāṇa pale. In this connexion, one should note the view of Mr. Allan that the heavy-weight coins in base gold of Skandagupta and of the later reigns "belong to the most eastern Gupta dominions". See, *CICGDBM*, p. xviii.

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to have been the first among the Gupta emperors to use the *suvarṇa* standard. His son and successor Kumāragupta I is usually regarded not to have struck coins on this heavy standard.¹ The majority of his gold coins, according to Mr. Allan, follow the standard of 126 grains, introduced by Chandragupta II, though traces of the earlier standard of 121 grains may be found in his coins of the Archer type.² It may be argued that if, as suggested here, the *suvarṇa* standard had made its appearance in the Gupta gold currency as early as the reign of Chandragupta II, then there is no reason why it should not have been followed by Kumāragupta I during his long reign. Even assuming that Kumāragupta I did not issue coins of the *suvarṇa* standard, one may point out that he does not also appear to have followed the 132 grains standard introduced by Chandragupta II and continued by Skandagupta. The absence of coins of the 132 grains standard among the numerous issues of Kumāragupta I does not, however, vitiate the attribution of the Archer coins of the 132 grains standard with Chandra in the field to Chandragupta II (Allan, *CICGDBM*, p. cxxxii). The majority of Skandagupta's Archer type coins are struck on the *suvarṇa* standard which comes into general use in the succeeding reigns.³

[Mr. Kar has done well in drawing attention to the heavy weight coins of Chandragupta in the Indian Museum. There can be no doubt that we have sufficient reasons to suggest that they were issued by Chandragupta II, which would show that the *suvarṇa* standard was first started not by Skandagupta but by his grandfather Chandragupta II. It would however be desirable to state the reasons, which appear to militate against this view.

(1) Supposing Chandragupta II had started the *suvarṇa* standard, it is rather difficult to understand why it should not have been followed by his son Kumāragupta I, at least for some of his issues during his long reign of more than forty years. Unlike the rather unusual standard of 132 grains, for some time tried by Chandragupta II, the *suvarṇa* standard of 144 grains was a national one, and when once introduced in Skandagupta's reign, persisted till the end of the Gupta dynasty.

(2) Most of the coins in the Indian Museum of the heavy *suvarṇa* standard, which bear the name of Chandra(gupta) are heavily adulterated, as noted by Smith in note 1 on p. 106.

1. One has a suspicion that the two heavy-weight coins of Archer type class I, attributed to Kumāragupta II, may perhaps belong to Kumāragupta I. (Allan, *CICGDBM*, p. 140, nos. 570-71).

2. Allan, *CICGDBM*, p. cxxxiii.

3. Allan, *ibid.*, p. cxxxiv.

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No. 31. looks almost as a copper piece. Mr. Kar admits that the coins of sub-variety b of this class, which are in pure gold, do not bear the name of any king, and are probably to be attributed to Purugupta. So almost all *suvarṇa* type coins of Chandragupta so far known, are in very base metal. The Gupta empire was at the height of its glory and prestige during the reign of this monarch, and it seems extremely unlikely that he would have tolerated the circulation of such base pieces.

Recent epigraphical discoveries show that there were several claimants to the imperial throne during the latter half of the 5th century A. D. It is not unlikely that a hitherto unknown Chandragupta may have been one of them, and that he may have tried to support his imperial status by the issue of the gold coins like those under discussion here. His limited resources, however, may have permitted only coins in base gold. He could have felt no awkwardness in doing so, as most of the later Gupta kings had issued gold currency in base metal. Like his famous homonymous predecessor, he also may have taken the *biruda* of *Vikrama*. It may be pointed out that all the kings of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty named Kṛishṇa had the *biruda* of *Akālavarsha* and all those whose names were Govinda had the *biruda* of *Prabhātarsha*. Further discoveries alone can settle the question of the identity of Chandragupta of the *suvarṇa* standard coins. *Chief editor.*]

URULI (POONA DISTRICT) HOARD OF INDO-SASANIAN COINS.

By P. J. CHINMULGUND, I.C.S., POONA

This hoard was discovered in September 1944 by a sergeant in the British Army, at an army camp at the village of Uruli in Poona district about twenty miles from Poona, close to the Poona-Sholapur road. The incident leading to the discovery is rather interesting. It appears that the sergeant, with a few of his friends, while having a walk near the camp, saw a snake. One of the party took a shot at it, but the snake escaped and disappeared down a hole in an old ruined building. As the party wanted to make sure that the snake was hit, they began to dig down the hole with their bayonets, when they struck a copper pot. On opening it they saw that it was full of silver coins. With this discovery, the pursuit of the snake was naturally abandoned.

The sergeant knew me and brought the hoard for my inspection. I was able to make a fair inspection of the coins, as he left them with me for a couple of days. When I saw him again, I gave him the coins and advised him to inform the District Magistrate under the Treasure Troves Act. Unfortunately, however, he was transferred before he could do so, and I do not know what happened to the coins, as I have not heard from him since. As I thought it desirable not to let the discovery pass unnoticed, I am writing this paper. It is based on the notes I made during my inspection of the hoard.

When discovered, the hoard contained 460 coins, but when they were brought to me, there were only 421. They were all of silver and of the Indo-Sasanian type—popularly known as 'Gadhia Coins.' They were mostly very well preserved. As is usually the case with the coins of this type, they bore no inscription or legend whatsoever.

The pot in which they were found was of copper. It had a lid which was attached by a hinge made by rolling pieces of copper through which a copper pin was inserted. The hinge was affixed to the pot and the lid by copper rivets. A similar arrangement on the other side, with a detachable copper pin, served to fasten the lid down. A sketch of the pot is shown in Pl. III, Fig. III; its approximate scale is 1 : 2.5. The pot was carefully examined, but it did not show any inscription.

The coins could be divided into different groups as follows:—

Design: On the obverse was the helmeted head, and on the reverse the corrupt representation of Fire Altar, with the sun and the crescent moon at the top. As regards the latter, all the coins were identical in design, save for the number and size of dots. No one single coin bore the complete design. The complete design as revealed by a study of all the coins is shown in **Pl. III, Fig. I**, the scale being approximately 2.5 : 1. The number and thickness of dots vary on different coins.

The helmeted head¹ on the obverse enabled me to divide the coins into three clear groups: (a), (b) and (c). The three types of head are shown in **Pl. III, Fig. II**. The chief distinguishing characteristics of each group were as follows:—

Type (a)—Profile clear. Square jaw. Nostril, chin and lips clearly visible.

Type (b)—Profile rough. Nostril, chin and mandible represented only by dots. Mouth represented only by a dot and joined to the cheek by a line.

Type (c)—Similar to (b), but further degenerated. Line joining mouth to cheek absent, or very weak. Eyebrow very weak or absent.

The groups (b) and (c) show a progressive degeneration of the head as represented in type (a); (a), therefore, is the earlier, (b) the middle and (c) the later type. Of the total number of 421 coins, 261 were of type (a), 84 of type (b) and 43 of type (c). 33 coins were either too worn or corroded, or had only a fraction of the design on them, and could not be classified.

Diameter: Vincent Smith² has already noted that Gadghia coins can be divided into three sizes—(1) Flat coins, diameter, 0.65-0.68 inches. (2) Transitional pieces, diameter 0.54-0.62 inches and (3) Thick dumpy pieces, diameter 0.47-0.57 inches. The present hoard was also found to fall into three groups by diameter:—Large diameter 0.65-0.69 inches; intermediate diameter 0.60-0.62 inches and small diameter 0.56-0.59 inches.

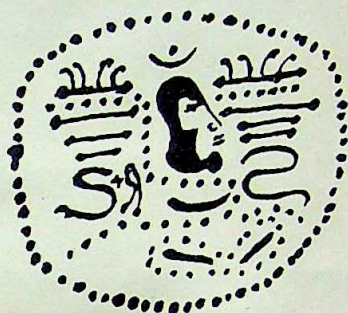
Thickness: It was found that the larger the coin, the smaller was its thickness. Actual measurements showed the

1. The helmeted head on the Gadghia coins is certainly unusual, but a careful examination convinced me that the helmet was shown on all the coins; in some cases its part guarding the nose could also be seen. Whether the helmet is a degenerate representation of the original crown, it is difficult to say, unless we have a series of coins showing the gradual changes taking place in the original type. Alternatively we shall have to suppose that what looks like a helmet now is meant to represent a crown.

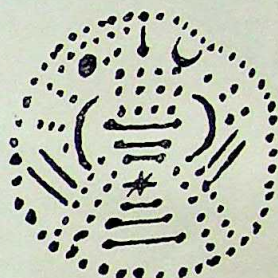
2. V. Smith, *Callg. of Coins in Ind. Mus.*, p. 240.

J N. S I., 1945

Pl. III



Obverse



Reverse

Fig. I.



a



b



c

Fig. II.

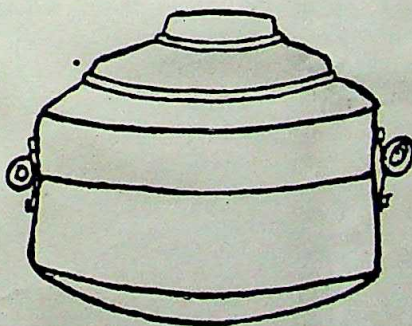


Fig. III.

URULI HOARD OF INDO-SASSANIAN COINS

A specimen coin (enlarged), some typical busts, and the pot of the hoard.

thickness to be as follows;—large diameter coins, thickness 0·08 inch; intermediate coins, thickness 0·102 inch and small diameter coins, thickness 0·11 inch.

The last point worth mentioning is that as regards the designs on the obverse and the reverse, there was no relation in orientation, i.e., if the helmeted head was considered to be vertically stamped, the fire altar on the reverse lay in all possible directions with respect to it.

The above classification can be conveniently tabulated as below:—

Total number of coins	421
Unclassified (Too worn etc.)	33
Design type (a) Small size	122
" " Intermediate size	123
" " Large size	16
" " (b) Small size	28
" " Intermediate size	39
" " Large size	17
" " (c) Small size	7
" " Intermediate size	20
" " Large size	16
Total number	421

It will be seen from the above table that the vast majority of coins were of small and intermediate sizes; also that 261 coins out of 421 were of type (a) design. This is noteworthy, since Gadghia coins showing a well stamped and clearly recognizable head are by no means very common.

This hoard is interesting from several points of view. Gadghia coins have been found in large numbers in Mālwa, Gujarat, Bihar, Oudh and Eastern United Provinces.¹ Apart from the coins of Chhittarāja Silahāra of Thanā (c. 1025-1040 A.D.), which are of similar type and are inscribed with his name and which have been found in Northern Konkan, Gadghia coins are certainly not common in the Deccan, especially in large hoards. The present hoard suggests that they were current in the Deccan almost contemporaneously with the north and over a long period, since it contains coins of both early and late types. Vincent Smith² gives the period of their currency in Gujarat and Rajputana as from c. 750-1100 A. D. Coins of type (a) showing a very clear head quite unlike the button shaped

1. *Ibid.*, p. 240. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey. Reports.* IX. p. 176.

2. V. Smith. *Ibid.*

head of later coins, may be dated c. end of the eighth or beginning of ninth century A.D. It, therefore, appears permissible to suggest that Gadhia coins were current in the Deccan proper probably during the rule of Rāshtrakūṭas from the time of Dhruva or Govinda III, who expanded their dominions in the direction of Malwā and Gujarat; and certainly under the Yādavas. It is probable that silver coins of the Krishnarāja type were current in the early Rāshtrakūṭa period in the Deccan¹; it is also certain that the Yādavas had their own gold currency known to us as *Padmaṭaṅkas*. But these facts do not preclude the possibility of the *Gadhia* type also being current along with these indigenous types, especially when we remember how a hoard of them was found in the capital of the Northern Śilāhāras who were the feudatories of the Yādavas. This theory is, of course, a tentative suggestion, and may require confirmation by further discoveries of such coins in the Deccan.²

Again, the coins appear to have been minted in different mints at different places. This is proved by the fact that, the three groups (a), (b) and (c) each show innumerable varieties as regards the size and orientation of the head; e.g., some coins of type (a) show the helmet with a decided backward slope, while others show it vertical; some small coins had large heads, while some large coins had small heads and so on.

In conclusion a small point may be noted. The "star" in the middle of the design on the reverse was six-rayed in every case.

1. *Ante*, III, pp. 23-4.

2. [If more hoards of this type are discovered in the Deccan, we can conclude that the *Drammas* referred to in the Rāshtrakūṭa plates, may well have been the *Gadhias*. But a solitary hoard like the present one could as well have been brought with him as a part of booty by a Rāshtrakūṭa captain participating in northern Indian campaigns under Govinda III, Indra III or Krishna III. The Thana hoard may well have been brought with him by a merchant at the Śilāhāra capital trading in northern India. We have the cases of a hoard of Kshatrapa silver coins found near Karhad in Satara district (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VII, 16-17) and of Gupta silver coins found near Wai in the same district (*Ibid.*, 1861, p. xxxix). Neither of these hoards can be taken as proving the currency of the Kshatrapa or Gupta coins in Satara district; most probably each was brought with him by a Brāhmapa immigrant. *Chief Editor.*]

SOPHYTES-SAUBHUTI

BY DR. J. N. BANERJI, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Some silver coins of Greek technique with the legend ΣΟΦΥΤΟΥ engraved on the reverse are known, the issuer of which has hitherto been unanimously identified with the Sopeithes mentioned in the account of Alexander's invasion as given by Arrian and Strabo. According to it Sopeithes was a contemporary of Alexander and was a ruler in the Salt Range region of the Punjab. Sylvain Levi, assuming that the drachm of Sophytes was an Indian imitation of Greek money, derived a word Saubhūti from Sanskrit grammar, which he claimed as an equivalent of Sophytes¹.

In a recent paper² Dr. Whitehead has challenged this view, maintaining that Saubhūti was a philologist's creation, there being no evidence that a country called Saubhūta or a king Saubhūti by name actually existed. The drachms of Sophytes, according to him, were original Greek pieces and thus could not have been struck by a Hindu king in India. He argued on these lines :—Cunningham observed that Sophytes' coins were found in India only because they were brought in India by coin-dealers from outside³. B. Head laid stress on the affinity of the Sophytes' drachmae with certain eastern imitations of Athenian 'owls' and compared with them some rare Seleucid issues, one side of which was similar to the obverse of the latter. He associated this group with India on account of the weight standard adopted in its issue⁴; but he was misinformed about the provenance of this group of coins. Edward Newell has already attributed the Seleucid pieces to Bactra mint.⁵ Whitehead then contended that the position of Sophytes depended on the true location of the imitations of the Athenian 'owls', and like them, he must be placed in the Oxus region. The literary

1. *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, p. 287. Levi suggested that the name 'must be derived from some Sanskrit word like *Saubhūta*, i.e., 'well-being' and identified him with the king of a country named Saubhūta, and called him Saubhūti'. Group 236 of Ganapātha (Pāṇini) contains 41 miscellaneous words which by the operation of a particular rule can be transformed into place-names; the 11th word in this list is *subhūta* 'which can give rise in this way to a place-name Saubhūta, the king of which could be called Saubhūti'.

2. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1948, pp. 60-72.

3. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1866.

4. This was near about 58 grains which was the approximate weight of a certain type of silver punch-marked coins of ancient India and which conformed to that of a 'dharana' or 'purāṇa' (32 ratis) as laid down in Manu and Yajñavalkya. Macdonald would denominate the standard on which these 'imitations' and Sophytes' coins were based as a lighter Attic standard.

5. *Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints*, New York, 1938, pp. 283-4.

tradition about Sopeithes having been an Indian contemporary ruler of Alexander need not be questioned, but any connection between him and Sophytes of the coins should be abandoned. Whitehead further made this positive suggestion that Sophytes and his coins were probably earlier than 320 B.C., the date given to them by Macdonald, and that Sophytes was a local satrap who asserted his independence on the fall of the Persian empire.

There is much to be said about the negative side of Whitehead's views summarised above. He has raised some legitimate doubts about the issuer of the above coins having been an Indian prince striking money of the Greek design at a time when there is no other numismatic evidence about Greek monetary technique having influenced any issues of India. Some particular varieties of Audumbara, Kuninda, Taxila and other coins, which show unmistakable traces of Greek influence, are without doubt to be placed much later in point of date. This very fact led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to question the nationality of Sophytes about two decades ago. Bhandarkar, following an interesting line of argument of his own, suggested that he was a Hinduised Greek ruler of north-western India, who issued these coins sometime before Alexander's invasion.¹ We expected some reference to Bhandarkar's views in Whitehead's paper; besides, the latter's positive suggestion is open to criticism. Whitehead has not been able to adduce definite proof for his view that the Oxus region was the place of origin of Sophytes' coins and that Sophytes was an eastern satrap ruling in this quarter before 320 B.C. The principal point of argument as regards this part of his contention is that Sophytes' coins are similar in style and technique to certain other types of coins, such as the imitations of the Athenian 'Owls', issues of Seleucus I, joint issues of Seleucus I and Antiochus I with the device of the biga or the quadriga of elephants, the coin bearing the name of Alexander (Head of Zeus : Eagle with reverted head with the satrapal tiara in the right field), and certain other issues of the Seleucid kings like Antiochus I, II and III. It was supposed that the different groups of coins just mentioned were discovered in 1877 along with the Treasure in the Oxus region, the precise site of which is variously given. The usually accepted site where the Oxus Treasure was found is Kabadian, a town lying not on the Oxus but on its tributary the Kafirna-

1. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 29-31. Bhandarkar anticipated a few of the objections raised by Whitehead. He did not, however, doubt the identity of Sophytes and Sopeithes but could not accept Levi's suggestion that he was an Indian. According to him, Sophytes was one of the pre-Alexandrian Greek settlers of India adopting an Indian name; he tried to prove that a band of Greeks settled in the north-western border of India sometime before Alexander's invasion; (for his arguments, cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-32).

han, a stage to the north of the Oxus, which fact shows that the actual site of its discovery was situated not in Bactria but in Sogdiana. Again, if all the above coins were actually found among the Treasure, it would not prove that they were all minted in that region or regions near it. Dalton, who made a systematic and scholarly study of the Oxus Treasure, says that the coins which reached Europe with it were about 1500 in number and included the following types : darics ; pieces of the satraps Tiribazus, Pharnabazus, Tiridates and Pharnaspes; tetradrachms of Athens ; coins of Acanthus in Macedonia, Aspendus, Byzantium and Tarsus ; about 200 pieces of Alexander the Great ; coins of Andragoras, Pixodorus of Caria, Lysimachus of Thrace, Seleucus Nikator, Antiochus I, II and III, Diodotus and Euthydemus. Thus, the period represented by these coins ranges from the early 5th century to about 200 B.C., and the localities where many of these coins were first minted were far distant from the Oxus region. Moreover, as Dalton further observes, 'there is no absolute certainty that they were all found with the Treasure ; they may merely have come from a single large site, perhaps that of a large town inhabited for centuries in ancient times but now wholly abandoned !'¹ It should be noted that no coin of Sophytes is mentioned among those supposed to have been found among the Treasure, and it is not at all certain that the groups of coins in the list, which are similar to the former actually formed a portion of it.

It thus appears that though Whitehead has raised well-reasoned doubts about a topic which was so long accepted as a settled fact, he has not been able to solve satisfactorily the problem of Sophytes' place of origin. The connection of Sophytes with Saubhūti has still a great deal of plausibility in it, and if we can find any clear mention of a country named Saubhūta or a ruler Saubhūti by name in early Indian literature, the hitherto accepted suggestion of numismatists will still recommend itself to many. It is unfortunate that Levi was unable to furnish more definite proof of this nature than the allusion to *subhūta* in Pāṇinian Gaṇapāṭha. Again, any recorded discovery of Sophytes' coins in the course of archaeological excavations in the extreme north of India will also lend weight to the older view. It is interesting to note in this connection that Sir John Marshall, while carrying on excavations at Saheth-Maheth (the modern site of ancient Śrāvastī) on the borders of the Gonda and Bhabra districts of U.P. in 1910-11, found among a few other coins of the Śakas and Kushānas a billon coin which he presumed to have been the issue of Sophytes, King of the Salt

1. O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, p. xvi. Dalton remarks that the Oxus Treasure is mainly Persian, of the Achaemenid period, and dates from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

Range. Marshall's description of the coin is as follows;—
 'Billon coin, presumably of Sophytes, King of Salt Range; Obv.
 —Head of King to front; Rev.—Cock standing to right.
 Found in the vicinity of temple No. 3.'¹ But it is very unlikely
 that this particular coin of a compound metal could be
 attributed to Sophytes at all. The metal itself and its general
 character would militate against this attribution. The coin does
 not appear to have borne any legend; the findspot is too far
 removed from the extreme north-west of India; lastly the cock
 alone would not justify one in associating it with the issue of
 Sophytes, where it is accompanied by a caduceus. The bust is of
 course interesting, but in the description we find no mention of a
 helmet or a cheek-plate which are invariably to be found on
 the genuine issues of Sophytes.²

1. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1910-11.*

2. Kaye puts the entry in the Index (Vol. I) to the Archaeological
 Survey Reports thus,—'Sophytes: coin of (?) found at Saheth'. This coin was
 most probably issued in a nearby region; the cock on it reminds us of the cock-
 and bull type of some Ayodhyā coins.

UTTAMABHADRA AND KING UTTAMADATTA OF MATHURĀ

BY MR. S. V. SOHONI, I.C.S., CUTTUCK.

1. In one of his inscriptions,¹ Nahapāṇa's son-in-law Ushavadāta refers to an expedition undertaken by him to relieve 'Uttamabhadra' of the Mālava pressure. It has been asserted that "The Uttamabhadras were no doubt a tribe of Kshatriyas".²

I venture to differ from this view. Reference to 'Uttamabhadra' occurs twice in that inscription: (i) "*Uttamabhadraṁ—* (accusative singular) *mochayitum*" i.e. to rescue "Uttamabhadra" when he was besieged; and (ii) "*Uttamabhadrakāṇaṁ cha Kshatriyāṇaṁ*" i.e. of the soldiers of 'Uttamabhadra'. Thus 'Uttamabhadra' referred to by Ushavadāta is a person and not a tribe,—although the *Mahābhārata* does record an Uttamabhadra community. Here 'bhadra' is used as an honorific suffix of the proper noun 'Uttama',—cf. Rāmabhadra. This is clear, in spite of the fact that Sanskrit passages in Ushavadāta's inscriptions do not always strictly adhere to the rules of grammar.

2. Thus, at the command of Nahapāṇa (*Bhaṭāraka-aminatīyā*), Ushavadāta had gone to help one Uttama out of a siege by the Mālava army.

3. Is this Uttama the same as King Uttamadatta of Mathurā known from his coins? I invite attention to this detail in connection with Nahapāṇa's date: an interesting glimpse is obtained into the distribution of political power in India in the middle of the first century B. C. An Audumbara king Mahādeva (first century B. C.) counterstruck a coin of Uttamadatta³ of Mathurā. Uttamadatta is usually placed in the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B. C. His line was succeeded at Mathurā by a dynasty of the Sakas bearing the title of a Ksatrapa or a Mahāksatrapa, in which Hagāmasha and Rājuvula were prominent rulers. Incidentally it may be noted that Nahapāṇa and Rājuvula etc. all wear a fillet on their head and that Nahapāṇa had no cap on his head as is commonly supposed. A comparison of their coins would easily prove this fact.

1. A. S. W. I. Vol. IV, p. 99, No. 5.

2. Rapson, C. I. C., *Andhras, Western Kshatrapas*, etc. p. lvi.

3. Allan, C. A. I., Art. 96 and 124.

Counter-striking a coin can be treated as a fair evidence of successful hostility. Therefore one gets an impression of warfare between Mālavas and Audumbaras on the one hand and a Mathurā ally of Nahapāna viz Uttamādatta on the other, and of the Khaharāta power about to be destroyed by Gotamīputra. Nahapāna is thus seen to be a contemporary of Uttamādatta of Mathurā, Mahādeva, the Audumbara ruler, and the Mathurā Śaka Kshatrapas.

[The geographical location of the contending parties will make the situation still clearer. The Mālavas were occupying the Udaipur-Ajmer tract and it is quite possible that the kingdom of the Mathurā rulers may have extended towards the south-west upto modern Jaipur. The siege of Uttamābhadrā had probably brought the Mālava armies far to the east and Ushavadāta's expedition was a sudden attack from the rear. The Mālavas, therefore, had to raise the siege in hurry on hearing of the approach of the armies of Ushavadāta, as stated in the inscription. Ushavadāta's bath in the Pushkara lake would suggest that he had effectively occupied a part of the Mālava territory, at least for some time. The scene of war was therefore in central Rajputana. The place of the siege of Uttamādatta should have been somewhere in north-eastern Rajputana, since on concluding his successful campaign, Ushavadāta visited Pushkara-tīrtha near Ajmer.

Chief Editor.]

1. As proved by his inscription—Rapson *C. I. C.*, p. xxxvii and counterstruck coins of Nahapāna.

A NOTE ON KUMĀRAGADYĀṆAKA

BY PRIN., V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

The grants of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj contain several obscure technical terms such as *pravani-kara*, *turushka-daṇḍa*, *viṃśaticchhavathā* and *kumaragadiāṇaka*.¹ Some of these like *turushka-daṇḍa* have been discussed by scholars, but so far as I know, *kumaragadiāṇaka* has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere. I propose to discuss its meaning here.

While editing the Rāhan grant of Madanapāla and Govindachandra, Dr. Kielhorn was confronted with these expressions, but not being able to explain them properly he omitted them in his translation.² The term *kumaragadiāṇaka* occurs in the oldest Gāhaḍavāla copper-plate inscription viz., the Chandrāvati grant³ of Chandradeva. It is repeated in some later grants of the dynasty, sometimes in the form *kumāra-gadiāṇaka*.⁴ Thus among twenty-four grants of the Gāhaḍavālas which Dr. Kielhorn edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 f. the term occurred in six. Why it is not repeated in all grants of the dynasty is not known. We must however note that none of the other terms also occurs in *all* grants. So the omission does not appear to be deliberate.

This term generally occurs in the royal order to the inhabitants of the donated village in the following form:—
Viditam-astu bhavatām yath-oparilikhita-grāmaḥ...asmābhiḥ
āchandra-tārakaṁ yāvach-chhāsanīkritya pradattaḥ iti matvā
yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhoga-kara-pravanikara-turushkadaṇḍa-
kumārāgadiāṇaka-prabhṛti-samastān niyat-āniyat-ādāyān ājñā-
vidheyībhūya dāsyatha iti. The order enjoined the inhabitants of the village to pay to the grantee the several taxes and cesses such as *bhāgakara*, *bhogakara*, *pravānikara* *kumārāgadiāṇaka* etc., whether definitely fixed or not, just as they had been paying them to the king before. This shows that *kumārāgadyāṇaka* was a kind of tax usually paid to a king.

But what does *kumārāgadyāṇaka* mean? The latter member of the term is well-known as a gold coin which was

1. See, e.g. 11. 21-22 of the Rāhan plates of Madanapāla and Govindachandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 19, n. 86.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 302 f.

4. See Kamauli plates of Vijayachandra and Jayachandra, (*Set O*), 1. 23, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., IV, p. 120.

current in South India in the later Hindu period. It has been thus defined by Bhāskarāchārya¹ :—

तुल्या यवाभ्यां कथितान् गुञ्जा बल्लिगुञ्जो धरणञ्च तेष्वथै ।

गयानकस्तद्वयमिन्द्रतुल्यैर्दलैस्तथैको घटकः प्रदिष्टः ॥

'A *guñjā* is here stated to be equal to two *yavas*, three *guñjās* make one *balla*, eight *ballas* make one *dharana*, two *dharanas* make a *gadyāṇaka* and fourteen *ballas* are said to be equal to a *dhaṭaka*.' A *gadyāṇaka* was thus equal in weight to 48 ratis or nearly 85 grains. The coin was common in South India and has been referred to in several inscriptions. It was equal to two *kalañjus*. *Kalañju* was a gold coin weighing about a quarter of a *tolā*. So a *gadyāṇaka* must have been of about the same weight as the silver eight-anna piece of today. That these coins were of gold is known from the Kharepatan plates² of Raṭṭarāja which mention *suvarṇa-gadyāṇas*.

Still the question remains, 'What is meant by *kumāragadyāṇaka*?' On the analogy of *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka*³, *Varāha-dramma*, *Vigraha-dramma*⁴ etc., it may be thought that *kumāragadyāṇaka* meant a *gadyāṇaka* struck by some king named Kumārā. There were several kings in ancient India, of whose names *kumāra* formed a component part, such as Kumāragupta and Kumārapāla and some of them are also known to have struck coins, but it is very unlikely that their coins are referred to in the grants of the Gāhaḍavālas. Kumāragupta, for instance, flourished more than six centuries before. It is therefore improbable that his coins were in circulation in the time of the Gāhaḍavālas. Besides, they were called *dīnāras* and *suvarṇas*, not *gadyāṇas*. Kumārapāla of the Tomar dynasty, no doubt, flourished slightly before the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas⁵ and is known to have issued gold coins⁶, but his coins also are not likely to be meant here; for there is no reason why the Gāhaḍavālas should prefer his coins to those of their own. It may be noted in this connection that the term *kumāragadyāṇaka* occurs not only in the grants of Chandradeva and Madanapāla, whose gold coins have not yet been discovered, but also in those of Govindachandra⁷ whose gold coins, though in somewhat base metal, are found in abundance.⁸ *Kumāragadyāṇaka* could not therefore have meant *gadyāṇakas* of the Tomar king Kumārapāla.

1. *Lilāvati*, Chap. I, v. 2.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 232.

4. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 175 and 176.

5. According to V. Smith, he flourished in the period A.D. 1019-49.

6. See V. Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 253.

7. See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 106.

8. Smith, *Catalogue* etc. p. 157.

Since no other explanation is satisfactory, I venture to offer the following.

Kumāragadyāṇaka means the present or *nazrāṇā* of a *gadyāṇaka* on the birth of a prince.¹ It is well known that such presents are expected from subjects on festive occasions. They are referred to as *pranayakriyā* in the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman.² Though apparently voluntary, these contributions are more or less obligatory. In later times the amount of contribution seems to have been fixed at one *gadyāṇaka*. As all royal prerogatives were made over to the donee, the right of demanding the *nazrāṇā* of a *gadyāṇaka* on the birth of a son seems also to have been transferred to him.

The expression *kumāragadyāṇaka* is interesting in that it shows that *gadyāṇakas* were current in North India also during 11th and 12th centuries. But what coins were intended to be referred to it is not easy to determine; for the gold coins of the Gāhaḍavālas do not conform to the weight standard of the *gadyāṇaka* viz. 85 grains. The gold coins of Govindachandra, like those of several other contemporary kings of North India, weigh from 60 to 68 grains.³ Are we then to suppose that these coins of the Gāhaḍavālas, though they weighed much less, were called *gadyāṇaka*? Similar gold coins of the Kalachuris seem to have been known as *ṭaṅkukas*. The Rewah stone inscription of Malayasimha dated K.E. 944 (A.D. 1193) states that Malayasimha expended 1500 *ṭaṅkukas* stamped with the figure of Bhagavat (? Bhagavatī or Lakshmī) in constructing a tank near Rewah⁴. These coins were the well-known gold issues of Gāṅgeyadeva, with the figure of seated Lakshmī on the reverse. The gold coins of the Gāhaḍavālas were similar in fabric, type and weight.

1. [Jātakas often refer to overjoyed subjects giving one Kārshāpaṇa each as *khīramūlam* (milk-money) on the occasion of the birth of a son to the king J. IV, 323. Voluntary contributions of one or more *gadyāṇas* on the occasions of conception, *upanayana*, *chāturmāsya* sacrifices etc. are mentioned in an Aihole inscription of c. 800 A.D. I.A., VIII, 287. Chief Editor.]

2. *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, pp. 44 and 49, n. 4.

3. V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 260 f.

4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX, p. 299.

PRATI AS THE NAME OF A COIN.

BY V. S. AGRAWALA, M. A., PH. D., LUCKNOW

The word *Prati* as the name of a coin is of rare occurrence in literature. One instance of its literary use is recorded in the following verse from the *Mahābhārata* :

कश्चिद्वीजं च भक्तं च कर्षकायावसीदते ।

प्रतिकं च शतं वृद्ध्या ददास्यृणमनुग्रहम् ॥

The verse is found among Nārada's questions put to king Yudhishtira in the beginning of the *Sabhāparvan* (5.68). Its correct rendering is as follows :—

'Do you distribute seed and food to your peasantry in distress, and do you advance agricultural relief loans to them at the concession rate of one *Prati* for each one hundred *Kārshāpaṇas* ?'

The variant readings given in the Poona critical edition are (1) प्रत्येकम् (2) पदिकम् (3) पञ्चकम् (4) प्रतिशक्तम् (5) प्रतिगुञ्जाशतम्. The last three are extremely corrupt and hardly worth considering. The first two are accepted by the well-known commentator Nīlakaṇṭha. He gives *pratyekam* as the Vulgate text (for the *pratikam* of the critical edition) and explains it as implying loans at 1% of interest. His alternative reading is *pādikam*, which he explains as referring to an annual increase of one-fourth that is Rs. 25/- for each hundred, which works out to an interest of a little over 2%. He further adds that 1% rate was for secured loans and that of 2% and a little more for unsecured loans. The explanation appears laboured and removed from the spirit of the original text. Although through his meaning of *pratyekam*, Nīlakaṇṭha arrives at the same rate of interest (i. e. 1%) as we through that of *pratikam*, we must emphasise that *प्रतिकम्* is the older and genuine reading for which not only the testimony of better Mbh. manuscripts is our guide but also the older grammatical tradition which has preserved the correct interpretation of the word *Pratika*.

The first use of *प्रति* is recorded by Kātyāyana in the grammatical literature. On Pāṇini V.1.25 (कंसाट् टिठन्) there is a *vārtika* कर्षापणाद् वा प्रतिश्च with the following *bhāṣhya*—
कर्षापणाट् टिठन् प्रत्ययो वा च प्रतिरादेशो वक्तव्यः । कर्षापणिकः । प्रतिकः प्रतिकी ।
(Kielhorn, II. 347).

It means that PRATI is the substitute for the coin named *Kārshāpaṇa* and the suffix *ṭiṭhan* is added both from the word

Kārshāpaṇa and from *Prati* to denote the various meanings, such as 'purchased for' (तेन क्रीतम्) 'interest, income, profit, toll-tax or bribe paid on it' (तदस्मिन् वृद्ध्याय लाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 147). Thus *Pratika* would signify a transaction in which one *Kārshāpaṇa* or silver punch-marked coin was paid as purchase money, or as interest, etc.

This is the simple and natural explanation and in the light of this we may understand प्रतिक शतम् as an amount of one hundred silver *Kārshāpaṇas* on which one *Prati* was accruing as monthly interest, i. e. at 12% per annum. Nārada called this as the concession rate charged on loans advanced by government for famine relief, etc. The higher rate of interest recorded in law-books for various classes of transactions range between 2 and 5 per cent and hence 1% loan is called a relief (अनुग्रहकृण). Where *Prati* means a *Kārshāpaṇa*, the *Satam* or a hundred also has reference to the *Kārshāpaṇa* coins. We find that in ancient literature when merely the figures were mentioned without specifying the name of the coin, generally the standard silver punch-marked coin or the *Kārshāpaṇa* was intended, which was the prevailing currency. In Pāṇini's sūtras V. 1. 21 (शताच्च ठन् यतावशते) and V. 1. 34 (पणपादमाषशतायत्) the *Kārshāpaṇa* coins are implied by the mere mention of the figure 100. There are numerous instances of this in the Jātakas and other books.¹

It is a matter of extreme good luck that we have also reliable epigraphic evidence of the use of *Prati* as a current coin name. The same is found in the Nasik cave inscriptions of Ushavadāta, son-in-law of King Nahapāṇa. Nahapāṇa belonged to the earlier wave of Śaka invasion under the Kshaharāta branch, whose members became masters of Western India and Ujjain in the first century B.C. In inscription No. 12, it is stated that Ushavadāta gave a perpetual endowment of 3,000 *Kahāpaṇas* for the benefit of the Saṃgha and those *Kahāpaṇas* were invested with two guilds, two thousand in one Weavers' Guild, interest one *Pratika* (monthly) for the hundred, and one thousand in another Weavers' Guild interest being three-quarters of a *Paḍika* (monthly) for the hundred. The *Kahāpaṇa* capital was not to be spent, its interest only was to be enjoyed. Out of the capital, the two thousand (2000) at one *Pratika* per cent provided the cloth money at twelve *Kahāpaṇas* to every one of the twenty monks. From the sum of the thousand (1000), invested at an interest of three-quarters of a *Pratika* per cent, the pocket money was to be paid to the monks. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 82-83, Nasik Cave Inscriptions No. 12).

1. 'In early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coin is adduced, that of *Kārshāpaṇa* being understood, as is quite clear by its occasional mention. *Kārshāpaṇa* was, therefore, looked upon as the standard coin.' Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 79.

In the above extract we have the use of the technical terms *Vridhhi* (interest), *Kāshāpaṇa* and *Pratika*, and their interpretations are perfectly clear. The formula *Vridhhi Paḍika Sata* is almost identical—with that used in the *Mahābhārata* passage, *Pratikam cha śatam vridhhyā*. Both have the same meaning, i.e. the amount of one hundred *Kārshāpaṇa* coins fetching an interest of one *Kārshāpaṇa*, i.e. one per cent.

In the Kanheri cave inscription no. 15 also there is a reference to an endowment of two hundred *Kārshāpaṇas* at *Pratika* rate of interest, i.e. one *Kārshāpaṇa* per cent per month. (अखयनिवि दत्ता काहापणानि सतानि वे २०० संघस येव हठे पडिके सते, Burgess, *Archl. Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, pp. 79-80) The inscription is dated in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi.

The literary and epigraphic references to the coin called *Prati* point to some important chronological considerations as regards the date of the *Mahābhārata* passage in which the word occurs. Pāṇini mentions only the name *Kārshāpaṇa* for the standard silver punch-marked coin of his days. The word *Prati* as a substitute for *Kārshāpaṇa* was unknown to him (cir. 5th century B.C.) and it occurs for the first time in the *vārtika* of Kātyāyana who may be assigned to about the fourth century B. C. It appears from the testimony of cave inscriptions that *Prati* was a current coin name for the *Kārshāpaṇa* up to the end of about the first century B.C. The rate of interest is very often expressed in terms of the *Pratika* coin. The natural inference is that the *Mahābhārata* chapter containing the Nārada Rājanīti must be assigned to a period between the fourth and the first century B. C. It is a text dealing with those subjects of law and polity which Dr. Sukhtankar rightly considered to have been grafted on the original text of the *Mahābhārata* under the influence of the Bhrigus. Possibly this chapter did not form part of the Epic as it was constituted under the name of the Bhārata. The position is that the *Nīti* portions were existing independently out of the orbit of the original Bhārata text, and at some favourable time the Bhrigus incorporated them along with the Ākhyānas in the Epic emerging as the *Mahābhārata* as a result of this inflation. The limits of this literary *diaskewasis* appear on the basis of the very solid evidence supplied by the references to the *Prati* coin in Kātyāyana's *vārttika* on the one hand and the cave inscriptions on the other, to fall within the narrow period of about three centuries from the fourth to the first century B. C. The probability is that the date for the introduction of this particular chapter in the epic text is nearer the earlier limit than the later. This is also confirmed by the occurrence in this

context of several other technical terms as *Lava* and *Mushṭi* (Sabhāparvan, 5.54) which are peculiarly Kāuṭilyan and have been used in the *Arthaśāstra* (IX. 1), which is also a treatise of the Maurya period.

Doctor F. Edgerton, who has edited the critical edition of the Sabhā Parvan, translates *Pratikam* as "apiece" (Sukhthankar Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, page 11). This would suggest that King Yudhishtira advanced the sum of one hundred Kārshāpaṇas to each individual peasant, which on the face of it is improbable. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the General Editor of the Mahābhārata to whom I communicated the interpretation of *Pratikam satam* set forth in this paper kindly informs me: "In my addition to Edgerton's Addenda et Corrigenda I had already given the correct sense of the word by inserting a note which I am copying:—

"Devabodha's explanation runs thus: शतं प्रति एकैकं प्रतिकम्, अथवा कं शिरः प्रति प्रतिकं प्रतिपुरुषमित्यर्थः । His alternative explanation which favours the rendering "apiece" ignores the current idiomatic use of प्रतिकं, which seems to underlie his first explanation, and to which Kātyāyana had drawn attention in his second Vārttika to Pāṇini 5.1.25. The word वृद्धि is explained as उत्तमणेन मूलातिरिक्तं ग्राह्यम् i.e., the 'interest'. This hundred which is to be given as a 'relief' loan *deserves* only one (Kārshāpaṇa) as interest, and that is the main point, and not the giving of only one hundred to each needy farmer. "Pratikam" therefore means "Kārshāpaṇikam", and this sense of the word is already registered in the Petersburg dictionary.

I am grateful to Dr. Belvalkar for this information. The interpretation of the coin name suggested itself independently to both of us against the same grammatical background.

NUMISMATIC NOTES

BY DR. J. M. UNVALA, PH. D. (HEIDELBERG).

I. Rare Hephthalite coins

1. In an article, entitled "Hephthalite coins with Pahlavi legends", published in *the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. IV, part I, 1942, pp. 37-45, I have mentioned a silver drachm of J. de Morgan's collection bearing the name of a certain *DRČ* or *DRZ (MLK) A*, see p. 40 and pl. V, legend No. 4. I acquired recently in Bombay a duplicate of this coin, perhaps the unique duplicate known upto date, which is in a relatively good condition and whose legends are very clear.

The following is a description of the coin :

Obv. Bust of the prince facing, face in profile to r., wearing a crown with wings (?), surmounted by buffalo's head ; necklace and earring ; lock of hair behind the back ; fillets fluttering on high over shoulders ; only the left wing of the crown is visible, in place of the right wing there is an annelet ; the buffalo's head is blurred ; in field, to l., behind the wing a six-rayed star ; Pahlavi legend on r. *IC(?)DA*¹, (Pl. V, legend No. 1) ; circle of grenetis ; the margin is divided into four equal segments by three crescents and the buffalo's head ; the crescent on r. is missing, as the margin is clipped off.

Rev. Fire-altar with attendants as on the coins of Chosroes I ; on r. of the flame, a crescent, on its l., a six-rayed star ; Pahlavi legend, on l., the date (*cahārdah* "14" (Pl. V, legend No. 2) ; on r. the mint *I A I A* (Pl. V, legend No. 3) ; circle of grenetis.

Pl. IV, 1

There is no doubt that the coin illustrated by J. de Morgan in *Manuel de numismatique orientale*, Paris 1923-1936, fasc. III, p. 449, fig. 588, is similar to the one described above, although the reproduction of the legends of the obverse and the reverse, given by J. de Morgan, is wholly different from those given in facsimile on Pl. V, legends Nos. 1-3. The crown with the left wing reminds us of that of Varharān IV, but the reverse of this coin fixes the approximate date of its issue as the time of Chosroes I.

2. Unique silver drachm of an unknown prince ; Pl. IV, 2.

1. Reading remains uncertain ; probably the legend gives the name of the prince.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



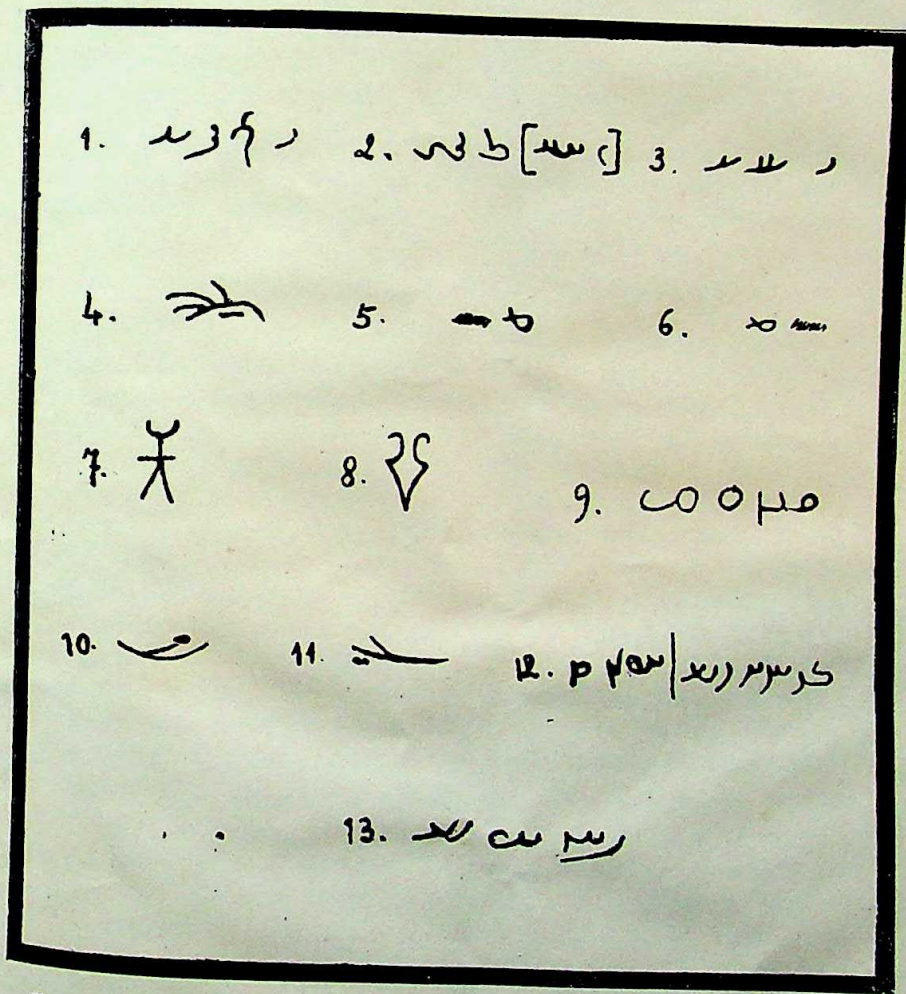
10



RARE HEPHTHALITE COINS

J. N. S. I., 1945

Pl. V



Pahlavi and Hephthalite legends, and Hephthalite monograms.

1.11



Obv. Bust of the prince facing, face in profile to r., wearing a crown with wings, surmounted by a crescent supporting the globe; necklace and earring; fillets fluttering on high over the shoulders; in field, to r. a floral design (Pl. V, No. 4); no legend; four big dots in margin, two on either side of the bust and two others on either side of the globe; the dot on l. of the bust is missing, as the margin is partly clipped off.

Rev. Fire-altar with attendants, the latter are treated like those on the coins of Fīrūz; on r. of the flame, a crescent, on its left, a six-rayed star; Pahlavi legend on l. . . . M, on r. M.... (Pl. V, legends Nos. 5 and 6); circle of grenetis.

The treatment of the wings on this drachm reminds us of the coins of Chosrose II, and therefore it might be considered contemporaneous with his reign, if not later, in spite of its reverse motif.

3. Copper drachm of an unknown prince; Pl. IV, 3.

Obv. Bust of the prince facing, face in profile to r., wearing a crown, decorated on either side with the protoma of an indistinct animal (?), surmounted by a crescent with the globe; fillets fluttering on high over the shoulders; no inscription; circle of grenetis; in margin, four big dots, two on either side of the bust and two others on either side of the crescent with the globe; in margin on r. a Hephthalite monogram (Pl. IV, No. 7; comp. J. Num. Soc. of India, Vol. IV, part I, Pl. V, No. 5), on l. another monogram (Pl. V, No. 8); below the bust, traces of a Hephthalite legend (Pl. V, legend No. 9; Pl. IV, Nos. 5, and 9, where the legend is complete). The general appearance of the effigy of the prince resembles that of Kavāt I on the coins of his first reign. The effigy is rather blurred, and therefore the decoration of the crown cannot be determined.

Rev. Fire-altar with attendants as on the coins of Fīrūz; on l. of the flame, a crescent; circle of grenetis; traces of Pahlavi legends or rather floral designs on r. and on l., which are clear on a similar coin of the British Museum as on Pl. V, Nos. 10 and 11 (Pl. IV, 7); in margin, outside margin to right near the clipped portion, traces of a human head to r. with hair falling on the neck in plaits, struck as countermark. A part of the margin of the coin is clipped off.

There are in the Cabinet of the British Museum six silver-plated coins of this type, four of which have a human head in countermark on the obverse, on three coins the head is facing l. and on one it is facing r. - the hair of the head facing l. is cut squarely behind the neck; five of these coins have got the head facing l., also on the reverse. It should be noted that the position of these countermarks is not fixed; see Pl. IV, 4-9.

One of these coins has below in the margin of the reverse a group of three dots; **Pl. IV, 8.**

All these coins are probably contemporaneous with the first reign of Kavāt I.

II. A unique copper fels with Pahlavi and Arabic legends.

Obv. Bust of Chosroes II, facing, head in profile to r., wearing a crown with wings, surmounted by a crescent and star; Pahlavi legend on l. in two lines RK AN IN K DA¹ AFZUT (Pl. V, legend No. 12), i. e.*anenakih?* *afzūt* "May—*افزوت*—increase?", on r.: B AN AP DA¹? (**Pl. V**, legend No. 13); the name of the prince; circle of grenetis.

Rev. In field, Arabic legend in Cufic characters, in three lines: محمد رسول الله; between two circles of grenetis, another Arabic legend giving the date 113. A. H. and the atelier Jayy².
بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس بجي سنة ثلث عشر و مائة.

Diam. 20 mm. Weight 1 gr. 80. **Pl. I, 10.**

III. Coins of the Sultāns of Dehlī found at Navsari near Surat.

In the middle of August of the last year, heavy rains damaged the private road, specially constructed for carrying over it dead bodies of Parsis from the outskirts of the town of Navsari to the Towers of Silence, situated near the village of Veraval, so seriously that its use had to be abandoned for several months. On hearing about this damage, Mr. Faramroz Hormasji Dadachanji offered the Parsi Anjuman of Navsari a sum of Rupees 25000 for repairs of the road under expert supervision. This offer was accepted with sincere thanks by the Anjuman, and the work was entrusted to Ervad Sohrabji Navroji Dadachanji of Navsari. It was decided to strengthen the road on its western side, where low-lying fields are situated, by building, between the fields and the road, a wall about six feet high and two feet broad, on a foundation of concrete, with buttresses at regular intervals. When the wall was completed, its top was slightly lower than the level of the road. While digging the foundation for one of the buttresses, about 150 feet to the north of the Captain Bridge, constructed from donations of the late Mr. Hormasji Burjorji Captain in 1875 A.D., in order to let flood-waters flow underneath it, fifteen billon coins of the Sultāns of Dehlī were found scattered in loose earth. They are interesting from the standpoint of the local history of Navsari, where such finds are

1. The readings of these words, perhaps proper names, remain uncertain.
2. In the Cabinet of the British Museum, there is a copper coin struck in the same mint, but dated 111 A. H. Jayy was the name of the ancient city of Isfahan.

The fels described above was bought by me from a vendor of old iron, nails, etc. in the bazar of Kermanshah in 1937.

extremely rare, and also for the fact that two Khaljī and two Tughluq Sultāns are represented in this meagre find. Similar coins have been published by Mr. H. Nelson Wright in his book, entitled *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehlī* Delhi 1936.

The following is a descriptive list of the coins¹:

A. Sultāns of the Khaljī dynasty.

1. 'Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh II. A. H. 695-715—A.D. 1296-1316.

Nos. 1-3, dated A. H. 713.

Obv. In circle : السلطان الا
عظم علا الد
ينا والدين
Rev. In circle ابو المظفر
محمّد شاه
السلطان ٧١٣

Comp. Wright, *op. cit.* p. 92, Nos. 334-335.

2. Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak. A.H. 716-720—A.D. 1316-1320.

No. 4, dated A.H. 716.

Obv. السلطان الا
عظم قطب الد
ينا والدين
Rev. ابو المظفر
مبارك شاه
السلطان ٧١٦

Comp. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 100, Nos. 390-393.

No. 5, dated A. H. 717.

Obv. خليفة رب العالمين
ابو المظفر ٧١٧
قطب الدين والدين
Rev. مبارکشاہ
السلطان ابن السلطان
الرائق بالاه
امير المومنين

Comp. Wright, *op. cit.*, 100. Nos. 388-389.

B. Sultāns of the Tughluq dynasty.

1. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughluq A. H. 720-725—A. D. 1320-1325.

Type a. No. 6, dated A. H. 720.

Obv. السلطان الغازی
غیاث الدین
والدين
Rev. ابو المظفر
تغلق شاه
السلطان ٧٢٠

Comp. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 113, No. 443.

No. 7, dated A. H. 722, has the same legends of the obverse and the reverse as on No. 6.

Nos. 8-11 are four undated coins similar to No. 6.

Type b. Nos. 12-14 undated.

Obv. السلطان الا
عظم غیاث الدین
والدين
Rev. In double circle : شاه
تغلق

Comp. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 115, Nos. 467-469.

1. None of these coins shows complete legends, the names of the Sultāns, their titles and dates are, however, sufficiently legible.

2. Muhammad III bin Tughluq. A. H. 725-752-A. D. 1325-1351.

No. 15, dated A. H. 727.

Obv. In circle : المجاهد في
سبيل الله

Rev. In circle : محمد بن
تغلقشاه

۷۲۷

Traces of legend in margin.

Comp. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 133, Nos. 522-525.

IV. The mutilated legend on the gold coins of the Queen Sītā.

My opinion on this mutilated marginal legend has been published in *the J Num. Soc. of India*, vol. VI, part I, 1945 pp. 53-54. I shall deal here in brief with the opinion of the late Mr. F.D.J. Paruck on this legend, published on pp. 52-53 of the same part of the above journal. His reconstruction of the mutilated legend on the obverse of the coin illustrated on Pl. III, 1 obv. and its reading are, to put it mildly, very bold. The reading of the second word as *SITA*, which begins from the point of the left prong of the trident and ends a little below its base is very problematical. The reading of the following word as *MLKT(A)* seems to be still very doubtful. With no stretch of imagination can the four letters,—three above the left ribbon of the trident and the fourth between the two ribbons,—be read *MLKT*. That the last letter of this legend is definitely a *T* is proved by Pl. III. 2 obv. Even granting the correctness of the reading of the legend as given by Mr. Paruck, the main objection would remain against the forms of *A* and *T*, given by him in the facsimile, as those of the middle of the fourth century.

SOME UNIQUE GOLD COINS FOUND IN BIHAR.

BY S. A. SHERE, M.A., LL.B.,

Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.

On the 18th June, 1943 a hoard of 18 gold coins was found by an old woman of village Malhepur, Police Station Chenari in the Sasarām Sub-division of the district of Shahabad, Province Bihar, when she had gone to collect fuel at Badalgarh forest at the foot of the hills near the Shergarh fort. There she found the coins on the ground visible and picked them up. The discovery of gold objects, and by a poor woman, could not remain a secret. Thanks to the alertness of Maulvi M. S. Qutubuddin, Sub-Inspector of Police, Chenari, the coins were seized and they were in due course sent by the District Magistrate, Shahabad, to the writer for a report to Government in regard to their acquisition. Their acquisition having been recommended, Government were pleased to accord their sanction under the Treasure Trove Act in May 1944.

The find consists of (a) six coins of the Sultans of Delhi, (b) eight of the Sultans of Bengal, (c) one of a Bahmani king of Gulbarga, (d) two of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpur and (e) one of Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.¹

Of the six coins of the Sultans of Delhi, one is a freak specimen of Muhammad III Bin Tughluq (see, *ante*, Vol. V., Pt. II, 162). Four coins including the one just mentioned appertain to the reign of this Sultan and one each to the reigns of Mahmūd Bin Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Shah III Tughluq respectively. Among the coins of the Sultans of Bengal there was one of Nāsiruddin Mahmūd Shah II, four of Alauddin Husain Shāh, one of Nāsiruddin Nasrat Shāh and two of Ghiyāsuddin Mahmūd Shāh III. The Bahmani coin is of the reign of Humayun Shāh; of the two Sharqi coins, one was of Ibrahim Shāh and the other of Husain Shāh. The solitary Mysore coin appertains to the reign of Krishna Rāja Wodeyar, as mentioned above.

In this article I propose to deal in detail only with the outstanding coins.

1. It is incorrectly stated in the presidential address delivered by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India at Aligarh in December 1943 that the find consists of Suri coins including one of Krishnadevaraya (See *ante*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 170).

(A) SULTANS OF BENGAL.

(i) Nāsiruddin Mahmūd Shāh II.

Wt. 165.8 grs.
(Coin Reg. 17675)

Obverse.

ناصر الدين والدين
ابو المظفر [محمد] و
شاه سلطان

Reverse.

المويد بتائيد
الرحمن خليفته اله
بامسكت والبرهان

Pl. VI, I.

This coin is apparently the only extant gold coin of the Sultan. Neither the British Museum nor the Indian Museum catalogues contain any mention of gold coins of Nāsiruddin Mahmūd Shah II. The pseudo-patronymic title *ابو المصطفی* appears on the coin, as on other silver issues of this Sultan. This has also led me to ascribe it to his reign. The legend (not the linear arrangement) of the reverse of our coin is more or less the same as those on the reverse of the silver coins of Ruknuddīn Barbak Shah (c. f. *I.M.C.*, Vol. II. 140).

(ii) Alauddin Husain Shāh.

Muhammadabad (?).
Wt. 164.4 grs.
(Coin Reg. 17676)

Obverse.

السلطان
العاذل علاو الدنيا
والدين ابو المظفر

Reverse.

شاه سلطان
حسين
بن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خدا اله ملكه

~~PI. VI, I.~~

Pl. VI, II.

This coin is also apparently the only extant gold piece of its type. Neither the British Museum nor the Indian Museum catalogues contain any mention of a similar specimen in gold. A few rupees of somewhat similar legend excepting mint and date are known (cf. *B. M. C.*, 132 and 133 and *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, 182 and 183).

(iii) Alauddin Husain Shah.

The Treasury.
Wt. 164.0 grs.
(Coin Reg. 17677)

Obverse.

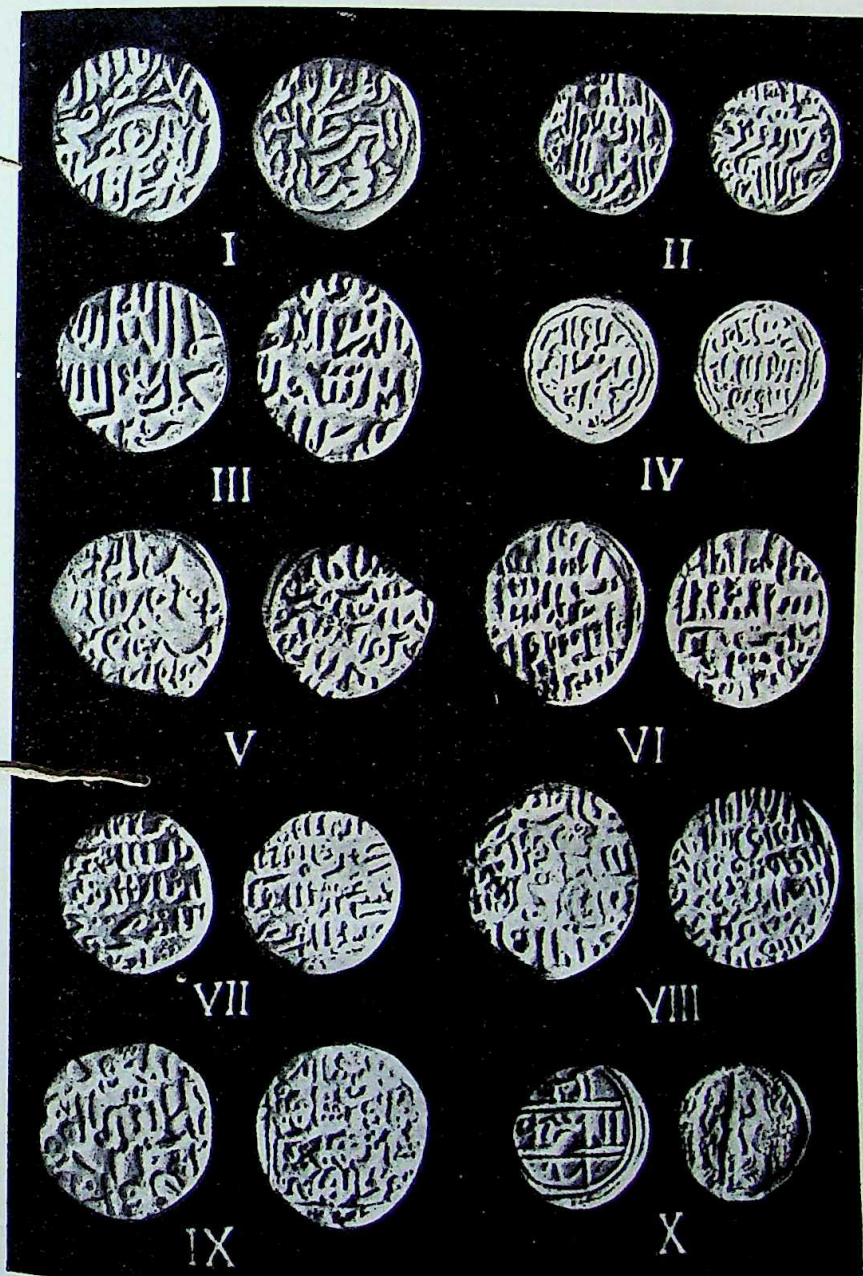
لا اله الا اله
محمد رسول اله
خزانه

Reverse.

علا و الدنيا
والدين ابو المظفر حسين
شاه السلطان خدا اله
ملكه و سلطانه

Pl. VI, III.

I know of no duplicate but a few rupees having similar legend excepting mint and date are known (c. f. *I. M. C.*, Vol. II. 169). This coin is a type of its own.



NEW COINS FROM BIHAR.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

(iv) Alauddin Husain Shāh.

Wt. 163.4 grs.
(Coin Reg. 17678)

Obverse.

علاء الدين
ابو
المظفر

Reverse.

شاه
حسين
السلطان [ن] خلد
الله ملكه

Pl. VI, IV.

This is a unique type. Even rupees of this type are not known.

(v) Alauddin Husain Shāh.

Wt. 135.2 + 11.2 grs.
Coin Reg. 17679.

According to the Police report this coin was unfortunately intentionally cut by some one to test its metal after the discovery. Two pieces were found but one could not be subsequently traced by the Sub-Inspector of Police.

The script of the legend is very crude and the reverse of the coin appears to have been inscribed in the negative form as the first word reads سلطان when reflected in a looking-glass. On the reverse, the name of the Sultan is legibly inscribed, though cut at that very point, but the inscription as a whole is illegible and therefore its reading is rather doubtful. See Pl. VI, V.

(vi) Nāṣiruddīn Naṣrat Shāh.

Wt. 164.3 grs.
(Coin Reg. 17680.)

Obverse.

السلطان
بن السلطان
ناصر الدين والدين

Reverse.

[نصر] تشاه [السلطان]
[بن] حسين شاه [السلطان]
[السلطان] خلد ملكه

Pl. VI, VI.

No duplicate is known but a few rupees having more or less similar legends are known (cf. *B. M. C.*, No. 137,450). Neither the British Museum nor the Indian Museum catalogues contain any gold issue of this Sultan.

(vii) Ghiyāṣuddīn Mahmūd Shah III.

Wt. 164.6 grs.
(Coin Reg. 17681)

Obverse.

السلطان
بن السلطان غياث
الدين والدين ابو
المظفر محمود
شا [ه]

Reverse.

شاه السلطان
بن حسين شاه السلطان
السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه

Pl. VI, VII.

Again I know of no duplicate, but a few rupees having more or less similar legends are known (see *B. M. C.* pp. 54-55). The British Museum and the Indian Museum catalogues do not mention any gold issue of this Sultan.

(viii) Ghiyaṣuddīn Mahmūd Shāh III.

Wt. 159.7	<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
(Coin Reg. 17682)	[السلطان]	السلطان
	[بن]السلطان غياث	الغياث الكامرو وكتته
	الدینا والدین [ابو]	رجا جنگر واریسته
	المظفر محمود شاه	علا والدینا والدین
	سلطان ۸ [xx]	ابو المظفر

Pl. VI, VIII.

I venture to suggest that this is a coin of Ghiyaṣuddīn Mahmūd Shah III, (one of the 18 sons of Sultan Alauddīn Shāh).

Hitherto it was only Husain Shāh who was known to have adopted the title of "Sultan conqueror over Kāmṛū and Kamtah and Jājnagar and Orissa" and on the basis of this Lane-Poole observed that "no other Muhammadan Sovereign in India ever adopted so novel (and grammatically indefensible) a title". It now seems that his son Ghiyaṣuddīn Mahmūd Shāh III, before he became Sultan, was permitted by his elder brother and predecessor "Nasrat to wield almost royal power throughout a great part of the kingdom". This was perhaps because he had some hand in the conquest of the above territories, which would account for the adoption of the novel title assumed by his father. It may be noted that Jalaluddīn Muhammad Shāh reigned long before Husain, who was in fact the conqueror of the territories in the title adopted by him. The occurrence of this title therefore on our coins negatives the suggestion that it could possibly belong to the reign of Muhammad, who had historically no connection with the conquest mentioned. The coin is, therefore, both unique and interesting.

(B) BAHMANI KING OF GULBARGA.

(ix) Humāyun Shāh.

Ahsanabad (?)	<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
86x	المترک	[علا]الدینا والدین
Wt. 169.8 grs.	على الله القوی	همایون شاه بن احمد
(Coin Reg. 17683.)	الغنى ابو المغازی	شاه بن احمد شاه
		[الولى البهمنی]

Margins :

Right. [اح]سنا[باد]
Bottom. ۸۱x

Pl. VI, IX.

I know of no duplicate but rupees having a similar legend and of similar design are known.

(C) KING OF MYSORE.

(x) Kṛishṇa-rāja (1799-1868)

Wt. 119.5
(Coin Reg.) 17686.

Obverse.
Three-line Nāgarī
legend :

Reverse.
Standing figure
of Viṣṇu.

(१) (श्री) स्त्री

(a) Śrī

(२) कृष्ण रा

(b) Kṛishṇa Rā

(३) ज

(c) Jā

Pl. VI, X.

This coin is interesting inasmuch as the obverse of our coin is somewhat similar to the obverse of No. 34 of PL. XXX (*I. M. C.* Vol. I), and our reverse too is somewhat similar to the reverse of the gold coin of Rāma Rāja (cf. *I. M. C.*, Vol. I. PL. XXX, 31). Moreover on our reverse we have a standing figure of Viṣṇu, and this does not fit in with the remarks of Mr. Allan that "the gold coins of this period consist of pagodas, half-pagodas and fanams, following the Vijayanagar type, with seated figures of Śiva and Pārvatī on the obverse" (See *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. IV by J. Allan, p. 76).

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE BAHMANI MINT FATHABAD.

BY CAPT. P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

Only a few but extremely rare Bahmani silver *tankas* with the mint name Fathabad فثاباد are known. The coins in my cabinet of Fathabad Mint are of 761, 763, 764, 765 and 766 A. H. and they all belong to Muhammad Shah I. I know of no Fathabad coins of any other Bahmani ruler so far. This new Mint Fathabad was attributed by me to Dharur, situated in Bir District of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions in *J.N.S.I.* Vol. II page 127 which, I regret to say, is not correct.

The fort of Dharur was built by Kamāl Kishvar Khan in 975 A.H. and was soon after captured by the Nizam Shahis. In 1040 A. H. it was besieged and taken by Shah Jahan who renamed it Fathabad فثاباد to commemorate the victory.

There are a few rupees of Jahandar and Farrukhsiyar of Fathabad-Dharur mint. Dharur is really a Moghul mint and so far as the Moghul coins are concerned it is correct. But on historical grounds it is not correct to attribute Bahmani coins of Fathabad mint to Dharur, as the fort of Dharur was not built and renamed until long after the Bahmani Dynasty became extinct. I quote the following lines *from Burhan-i Ma'asir*, which throw light on the correct identification of Fathabad in respect of Bahmani coins.

“و قبرخان که کوثر اقطاع یافته بود و متوجه آنصوب شده در اشنار راه عنان یکران بصوب قلعه کلیان معطوف ساخته قریب پنجاه روز اهل حصار را محاصره نموده بعد از عجز و استغاثه آنجا امان یافته حصار را تسلیم نمودند و مال امانی پذیرفته درسلک سایر رعایا و ممالک محروسه انتظام یافتند و چون قلعه کلیان بعون ملک دیان مفتوح گشت عریضه بعد مت سلطان سرسل داشته بشارت فتوحات مجدد در بایه سریر خلافت مصیر مصر نوع گردانید و در شهر دولت آباد بامر سلطان بادین داد طبع شادی گرفته دولت آباد بفتح آباد مرسوم گشت و تأیید هفته اوقات طبقات مردم به مراسم عیش و سرور گذشت —“

(*Burhan-i Ma'asir*, page 17—1936 Edition).

“Kambar Khan, (Qambar Khan) who had obtained the Kotūr Jagir, proceeded in that direction; but on the way turned aside to the fort of Kalyān, and for nearly fifty days, laid siege to it, after which it capitulated; and the inhabitants on giving security for good behaviour were included among the subjects of the Sultan. After taking Kalyān he wrote to the Sultan giving him the welcome intelligence of his victory. The Sultan was

much pleased, and ordering the drums of rejoicing to be beaten in the city of Daulatâbâd, called it Fathâbâd. The rejoicings were continued for a week." (The history of the Bahmani Dynasty founded on the Burhan-i Ma'asir by Major J.S. King). It is now a clear fact that the mint name Fathabad فتاح آباد of the Bahmani king, Muhammad Shah I, of 761-766 A.H. is no other than that of Daulatabad or Deogir, and not of Dharur in Bir District of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.

If it is strange that though the event of renaming Daulatabad took place in the reign of Alauddin Bahman Shah I, no coins of Fathabad mint of this ruler are known, while coins of Muhammad Shah I are known. These coins are only of the early period of his reign and no other Bahmani coins of Fathabad mint later than 766 A.H. are known to me. It seems as if the Mint at Daulatabad ceased to function during the time of his successors.

I should like to record my grateful thanks to Mr. Shamshulla Quadri for his kind assistance in compiling this article.

NOVELTIES IN THE JAIPUR TREASURY COLLECTION.

BY RAI BAHADUR PRAYAG DAYAL, LUCKNOW.

The small collection of old gold coins in the Jaipur State treasury, which I examined about a couple of years ago, through the kindness of Sir Mirza Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., Prime-Minister of Jaipur, appears to have been formed more out of a desire for the possession of gold coins than of a passion for study of numismatics on scientific lines. Nevertheless, I am glad that its examination has revealed a few coins which enlarge the horizon of numismatic knowledge and add glory to the State, where it is preserved for further development.

1. The Gupta coins are represented by 40 specimens and include one of Samudragupta, Battle-axe type, which furnishes a *new variety* as the boy attendant figures on the *right* and not on the *left* as usual. It may be described as under :—

Obv. King standing left, facing to right, nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-rings, necklace and sword, holding battle-axe in right hand. *On right*, boy to left, behind whom is a crescent-topped standard. Beneath left arm, *Samudra*. Usual legend *kṛitāntaparaśurjayatyajitārājajetājītaḥ*, beginning to right.

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmī) nimbate, seated on throne with feet resting on lotus, facing, holding lotus in left hand and noose in right. Symbol on left. On right *Kṛitāntaparaśuḥ*, i.e., wielding the axe of Yama, the god of Death.

One coin of Chandragupta II, Archer type of class II with lotus reverse, depicts the king with a close fitting cap of an *unusual type*. I regret that in the absence of a photograph the description is tantalising, but I record this, so that the point may be noted when coins of this class are examined,

2. Among the coins of the Sultāns of Delhī, I discovered a coin of Ālauddīn Maṣūd Shāh (A.D. 1242-46) which is *unique* and *unpublished*, The inscription reads :—

Obv. Within double circle

فی عهد الامام
المتنصر امیر
المومنین

Rev. Inside a circle.

السلطان الاعظم
علاءالدین والدین
ابوالظفر مسعود شاه
بن السلطان

There is a difference in design and arrangement of the reverse legend and this specimen is quite different from that in *Wright's Chronology* No. 187 A.

3. Four coins of Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd I (A.D. 1246-66) present minor varieties. No. 1 shows on the obverse small dots over *ع* and *م* and on the reverse arrow-heads over *ص* of *ناصر* and a small circle over *دینا*

No. 2 has on its reverse *بن* for *بن*

No. 3 On obverse has a small circle over *م* but not over *ع*, on the reverse there is no arrow-head over *ناصر* or circle over *دینا*, while *بن* appears in second line.

No. 4 On obverse shows a small circle over *ع* and *م* and on reverse over *دینا* Cf. *Wright*. No. 219.

4. One coin of Ālāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1296-1316) furnishes a *new date*, viz., 707 A.H., which has not so far been observed on his gold coins issued from Delhī. Similarly a specimen of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughluq (A.D. 1320-1325) presents a *new date*, viz., 723 H., on coins issued from mint Dāru-l-Islām. Both the coins are of absorbing interest, and numismatists will perhaps be tempted to keep metal casts in their collection for replacement by originals in due course.

5. Coins of Muḥammad III bin Tughluq (A.D. 1325-1351), known as prince of moneyers, from mint Sunārgāon which furnishes direct evidence of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's acknowledgement of suzerainty by Ghiyāṣuddin Bahādur Shāh of Bengal, who was deposed by the previous Sultān and restored by Muḥammad bin Tughluq in 1325 H. in the Government of Eastern Bengal, is of great importance. It is *extremely rare* and is the second *specimen known* to exist in India.

I am specially delighted to have come across a gold coin of my own city Lucknow which is *new* and *unpublished*. It is an issue of Muḥammad Alī Shāh, the third king of Avadh (A.D. 1837-1842). How it found its way to Jaipur, which has only two more coins of Avadh? It is neither in the collection of the Lucknow Museum, which is the largest, nor in that of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is described below :—

<p>Obv. Within circle of rays :—</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> دمان ساه در جهان متعبد علی باد ۱۲۵۳ سکه زد بجزد و کرم </p>	<p>Rev. Within circle of rays :—</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Arms</i> In the centre a fish surmounted by the numeral 1; supporters, two human figures, bare- headed, standing on </p>
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M. M. over جهان and
to left of last line.

scroll, supporting crown
with one hand and hold-
ing a fly whisk with the
other.

Inscription round arms :

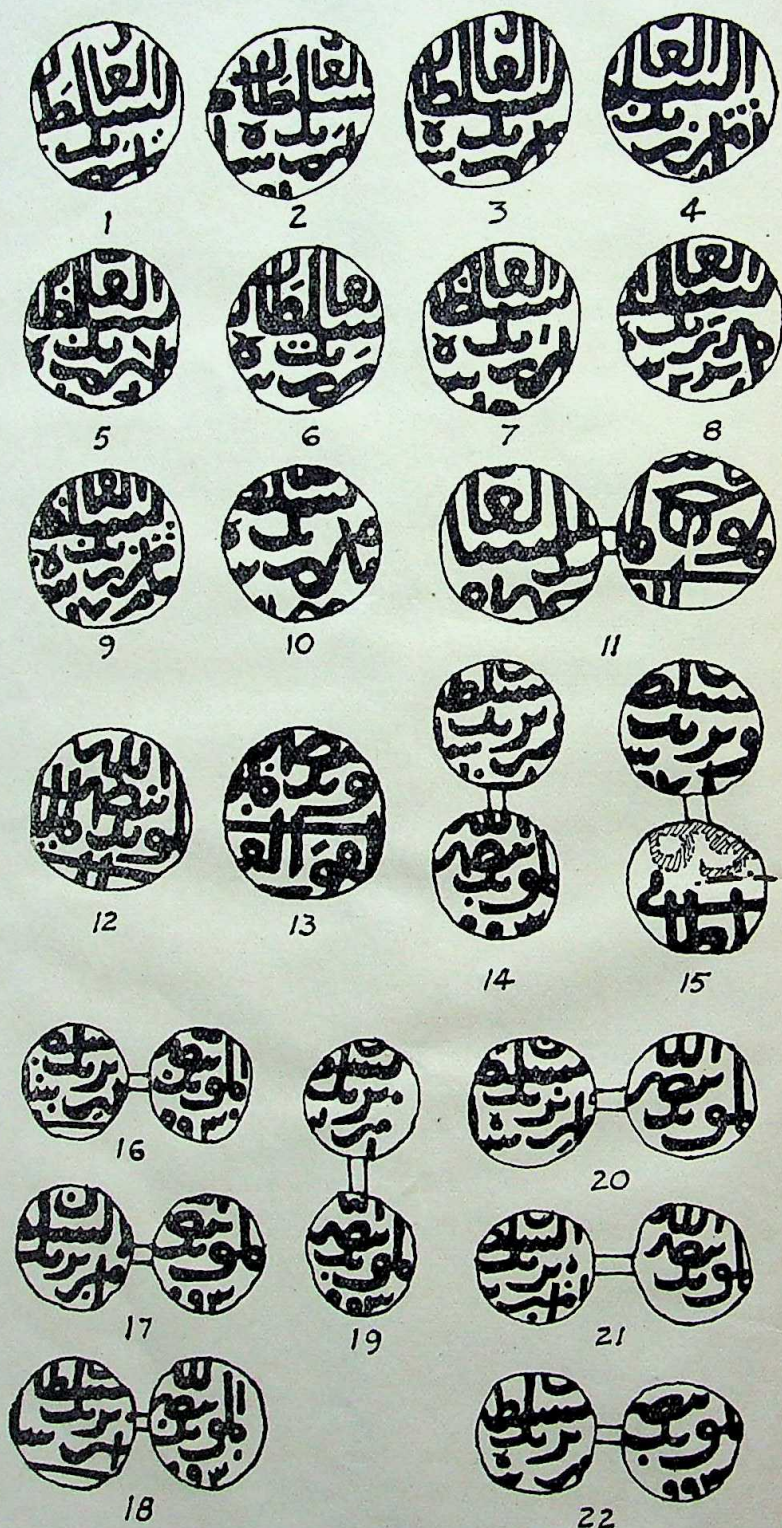
ضرب صوبہ اردہ دارالسلطنہ
لکھنؤ سنہ احد چارلس مہنت مانوس

The couplet reads :

بجود و کرم سکہ زود در جهان - محمد علی بادشاہ زمان

Translation. With grace and benevolence struck coin in the
world. Muḥammad Alī Shāh, Emperor of the
age.

This coin is very interesting. Up till so far, the assumption
was that Muḥammad Alī Shāh on accession to the throne
changed the epithet of Lakhnau from *Dāru-s-saltanat* to *Baitu-s-
saltanat*, but this coin furnishes direct evidence of the fact that
even in the first year of his reign, Viz.. 1253 H. (=1837 A.D.)
Muḥammad Alī Shāh, before introducing the change in the
epithet, struck coins with mint name "*Suba awadh Dāru-s-
saltanat, Lakhnau*."



THE COPPER COINS OF THE BARID
SHAHI KINGS OF BIDAR.

THE COPPER COINS OF THE BARĪD SHĀHĪ KINGS OF BIDAR.

BY MR. HORMUZ KAUS, HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

The history of the five kingdoms of the Deccan that rose to power during the decline of the Bahmani Dynasty lies still in darkness. Very little is known of their coins, and no Museums in India or abroad have given them a place in their Catalogues.

Three coins of the Barid Shahi Dynasty of Bidar are mentioned in Appendix L of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1340, Fasli. In it, it is presumed that they belong to the second king of the line, known in history as Amīr Ali Barīd (1504-1542), because of the resemblance between these coins and those of the last two Bahmani kings, Waliullah (929 A.H., 1522 A.D.) and Kalimullah (932 A.H., 1525 A.D.). On the above ground it is suggested that a slight alteration be made in the titles of the Barīd Shāhī kings, the second of the line to be styled only Amīr Barīd I, instead of Amīr 'Ali Barīd, and the sixth of the line to be called Amīr Barīd II, instead of Amīr Barīd. Unfortunately, no mention is made there of the metal, size and weight of the coins, but as they are compared with the large copper coins of the last two Bahmani kings, which is evident from the legends given, I presume that they are of copper and are of the same size.

In my collection of the coins of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, there are thirty copper coins of the Barīd Shāhī kings of Bidar of the following description:—

FIRST SIZE.	0.80", diam.	290 grs.	11 coins
SECOND SIZE (A)	0.65", diam.	180 grs.	1 coin
SECOND SIZE (B)	0.65", diam.	125 grs.	1 coin
THIRD SIZE	0.55", diam.	90 grs.	17 coins

From these thirty coins, I have selected twenty clear ones for illustration in the accompanying plate VIII, of which Nos. 12 and 13 show the typical obverse of Nos. 1 to 10. The hatched portion in No. 15 is not quite legible on the coin.

FIRST SIZE. (Nos. 1 to 13).

Obverse.	المريد بنصر الله الملك القوي الغنى
Reverse.	امير بريد شاه السلطان العادل

Pl. VIII, 1-11 show all the eleven coins of the First Size, of which Nos. 10 and 11 were struck very crudely. Pl. VIII, 12-13 show the typical obverse of the above coins, the former showing

the impression from the upper portion of the die and the latter from the lower one; together they thus facilitate the reading of the full legend on this side of the coin. The legend shows الله ALLAH very clearly on one of my coins (No. 12), hence it is similar to the one on the obverse of the coin of Kalimullah Bahamani, as shown in the Report referred to above; (see also *I.M.C.* Vol. II, Pl. VIII, No. 39—Editor, S.A.S.). The reading of the legend on the reverse, as given in the Report, ends with الغازی (AL-GHAZI), but from the legend on my coins, which fortunately shows the impression from the upper die, it is quite clear that it ends with العادل AL-ADIL. In some of the coins there are ornaments under the title of the king, which may either be space-fillers or mint-marks.

SECOND SIZE (A). Pl. VIII, 15.

Obverse. سلطانے.....

Reverse. امیر پریدشاه السلطان

(Note :—It looks like a date below the ش on the reverse of the coin which may be read as × 97—Editor, S.A.S.).

This is a unique coin of the series, as the obverse is totally different from that on the other coins, but the reverse remains the same. Probably, سلطانے (SULTANI) is the denomination of the coin, but it cannot be definitely said so owing to the absence of the other portion of the legend.

SECOND SIZE (B). Pl. VIII, 14

Obverse. المريد منبر الهة ٩٩٣

Reverse. امیر پریدشاه السلطان

This is a dated coin showing the upper portion of the date 993, Hijri, on the reverse. It appertains to the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh, the fourth king of the line, who ruled from 987-994 A.H.,=1579-1586 A.D.

THIRD SIZE. Pl. VIII, 16-22.

Obverse. المريد بنصر الهة ٩٩٣

Reverse. امیر پریدشاه السلطان

Of the seventeen coins of this size, nine are dated 993 A.H.,=1585 A.D. and like the above (No. 14) belong to the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh and show nearly the same legends. These seventeen coins show impressions from the upper, lower, right and left portions of the die, from which the above complete readings of the legend are reconstructed.

From the above facts it may be said that the Barīd Shāhī kings of Bidar used their title امیر پریدشاه السلطان (العدل) (AMĪR BARĪD SHAH AS-SULTAN). (AL-ĀDIL), on their coins and not their proper names, such as, Qāsim Barīd Shāh, Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh, Ālī Barīd Shāh, etc. and it is only from the dates on the coins that they could be attributed to a

particular king. It is probable that different kings had different endings of their titles such as, AL-ADIL, AL-GHAZI, etc.,. In the presence of dates on the coins it is not necessary to make any alterations in the titles of the kings.

This note is prepared with the help of the Barīd Shāhī coins in my collection only, hence it is in no way a complete description of them. In the light of further material much valuable information could be recorded.

THE NAMES OF THE ILĀHĪ MONTHS

BY V. S. AGRAWALA, M. A., Ph. D.

Curator, Central Asian Museum, New Delhi.

One of the boldest innovations of Akbar was the introduction of the Ilāhī era which took the place of the Hijrī. Abul Fazal thus records the working of the Emperor's mind :

'His Majesty had long been desirous of establishing a new era in Hindustan, in order to remove the perplexity that a variety of dates unavoidably occasion. He disliked the word *Hijra* (Flight), but was apprehensive of offending ignorant men, who superstitiously imagine that this era and the Mohammadan faith are inseparable, although it be evident to the sensible part of mankind, that dates are only of use in worldly transaction, and can have no connection with religion. But as the world abounds with ignorant people, whilst the number of wise and discerning is but small, he delayed carrying his intention into execution, till the 992nd year of the Hijera.'¹

The imperial wish was fulfilled in the year 992 A.H. by Amir Fathullah Shirazi, 'the representative of ancient sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom'. The main features of the new era which the learned astronomer contemplating the character of the monarch, called Tārīkh Ilāhī were as follows :—

1. The Era was founded in the 29th year of Akbar, i.e. in 992 A. H. When the *farmān* for the foundation of the Era was issued, the then current Ilāhī year which was coming to a close was 29th. The event therefore took place in the beginning of 1585 A. D.
2. Its initial date coincided with the accession of His Imperial Majesty, i. e. Wednesday, 28 Rabi-u-s-sānī, 963 A. H. (=11th March 1536),
3. The year was a True Solar year, 365 days, 5 hours 45 minutes and 27 seconds and there was no intercalation in its reckoning. According to Vedāṅgarāya the time was 365 days, 14 *ghaṭīs*, 33 *palās*, 7 *vīpalās* and 32 *pratīpalās* or 365 days, 5 hours, 49 minutes, 15 seconds, 0 third and 48 fourths.
4. The names of the months and days were the same as those of the old Persian or Yazdjardi Era.
5. The months were *true solar months*, of which the

1. *Ain-Akbarī*, Gladwin's translation, p. 884.

lengths varied from 29 days to 32, the 31st day being called *Ruz* and the 32nd *Shub*.¹

The names of the months taken from the Old Persian Calender are of special interest. It is a curious accident of Indian numismatics that at least four of these names had appeared about fifteen centuries before Akbar as the names of deities on the coins of the Kushāna rulers once current throughout North India and Gandhāra, as we shall see below. Iranian months are designated by the names of their respective tutelary deities and it is proposed to give here an etymological insight into these month names.

1. FARWARDIN فروردین—The first month of the Yazd-jardi calender. It derives its name from *Ferver*, Pahl. *fravahar*. Avestic *Fravashi* (𐬨𐬁𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎), a guardian spirit.² In the Zoroastrian faith the Fravashi is the inner power in every being that maintains it and makes it grow and subsist.

Originally the Fravashis were the same as the Pitris of the Hindus or the Manes of the Latins, that is to say, the ever lasting and deified souls of the dead, but in the course of time they gained a wider domain, and not only men, but gods and even physical objects, like the sky and the earth, etc., had each a Fravashi.³ The Fravashis or Fervers were elemental spirits or the immortal types of terrestrial and other objects. Every created being,—stars, animals, men, even angels had its *Ferver*, an invisible and ever watchful protector, to be honoured and propitiated by prayer and sacrifice. When a man died, his *Ferver* remained in heaven, and prayers for the dead were offered to their *Fervers*. Funeral ceremonies were instituted in their honour, and the last ten days of the year were sacred to them.⁴ The last ten days of the year (10th-20th March) included the last five days of the twelfth month Spandarmad (Isfandārmaz) and the five complementary days of intercalation called *Gāthās*.⁵ This was the *Farvardegān* festival of ten days celebrated at the end of the cold season and at the approach of the spring, when the souls of the dead were

1. See Prof. S.H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, The Ilāhī Era, p. 14-18, where it has been shown that the Ilāhī months were not of uniform length, and that Dr. Taylor's Tables of synchronisms between Ilāhī and Hijri dates (also reproduced in the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*) are unreliable as he took the Ilāhī months to be of 30 days' uniform length. The best discussion of the Ilāhī era and its synchronisms with Hijri, Christian and Saka eras is the paper entitled *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī* by V.S. Bendrey which is an improvement even on Hodivala's computations. It is based on an unpublished Skt. Ms, the *Pārasī-Prakāśa* by Vedāngarāya and can be had from The Secy. Shree Chhatrapati Sambhaji Charitra Karyalaya, Gāikwadwada, 568 Narayanpeth, Poona.

2. Bharucha, *Avesta-English & English, Avesta Glossary*, 1910, 103

3. Darmestetr, the *Zend Avesta* Part II (S. B. E., XXII), p. 179.

4. *The Ancient History of the East* by Phillip Smiths, pp-889-890.

5. Darmestetr, *ibid*, p. 192

supposed to partake of new life then beginning to circulate through nature, that had also been dead during the long months of winter. The festival was also called *saredha*. The first month Farwardin followed immediately the festival Farvardegān.

II. ARDIBIHISHT. اردی بهشت Avestic *Asha-vahishta*, (Skt ऋतवसिष्ठ) the second Zoroastrian archangel (Amesha Spent) and the personification of the "holy order" (*Rita*, Pahlavi *Arđ*) and the genius of the sacrificial fire. Sir Aurel Stein read the name *Ashaeikhsho* on a rare type of the coins of Huvishka and identified it with the Avestic name *Ashavahishta*, i.e., *Ardavahishta* (*Ardibahisht*) in later Zoroaster literature.¹

III. KHURDĀD داد, Avestic *Haurvatāt* (हउर्वतात्, सं. सर्वताति), "Wholeness", the Genius of Health and Waters'² name of the sixth archangel; Pahlavi *Khūrdād*, Pers. *Khurdād*.

IV. TIR تیر Avestic *Tishtrya* (तिश्त्र्य) Pahl. *Tishtar*, Per. *Tīr*. In Avestic mythology *Tishtrya* was the name of the bright glorious star, Sirius. It is found represented on the reverse side of a unique gold coin of Oeshki (Huvishka) now in the British Museum.³ The standing female deity holds a bow and arrow which afforded clue to its true character. 'Scanning the ranks of Zoroastrian deities, we cannot help being reminded of *Tishtrya*, the star Sirius whose later name, *Tīr*, in Pahlavi and Persian actually means "arrow".⁴ The legend on the coin was for the first time correctly read by Stein as TEIRO.

V. AMARDĀD امرداد—Name of the sixth archangel of the Zoroastrian mythology, Avestic *Ameretatāt* (सं. अमृतताति), "Immortality"; Pahl. *Amardāt*, Pers. *Amardād*.⁵ On the physical plane *Haurvatāt* and *Ameretatāt* are the guardians of the waters and of the vegetable kingdom respectively.

VI. SHAHREWAR شهرवार (sixth month) name of the third Holy Immortal (*Amesha-Spenta*), Avestic *Khshathra Vairya* (खथ्र वईर्य, क्षत्रवीर्य, Supreme Power, Perfect Rule) which becomes by ordinary phonetic changes *Shahrevar* in Pahlavi and Persian. Originally this God represented Perfect Strength, Omnipotence, the Universal Sovereignty of the Lord. In later times *Shahrevar* becomes the Lord of the mineral kingdom, the Guardian Angel of metals and other precious things of the great earth.⁶

1. Aurel Stein, Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian coins, *Indian Antiquary*, XVII (1888), p. 97, a very important contribution which should be read by every worker in the field Vedic ऋत = *Asha* in Avestic and *ard* in Pahlavi.

2. Darmesteter, *ibid*, p. 84.

3. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, in the *British Museum*, pp. lxi and 144.

4. Aurel Stein, *ibid*, p. 98.

5. Bharuch, *ibid*, p. 11.

6. I. J. S. Taraporewala, *The Religion of Zarathushtra* p. 87.

This deity has been recognised on the coins of Ooeshki (Huvishka). The distinctive type of the deity is the well modelled figure of a warrior in full Greek armour, with Greek helmet, spear and shield. The legend reads on all well preserved specimens with uncommon clearness ρ^1 A O P H O P O (*Shaoreoro*) This is the same as *Shahrevar*. *Shahrevar* appears already in the Avesta; and in later Zoroastrian tradition he is the genius of metals. The representation of *Shaoreoro*, in full metal armour with Greek helmet and shield, is therefore in signal agreement with the cosmologic character of the Zoroastrian deity.²

VII. *MIHR*. 𐬨𐬀—Avestic *Mithra* (मित्र) God of Heavenly Light, the Sun, Skt. *Mitra*, Pahl. *mithro*, Pers. *mīhr*. Represented on Kushāna coins as a standing male deity with a rayed orb round the head, wearing tunic and trousers. The legend reads *MIOPO* (Mioro) with many variations shown by Stein.³

VIII. *ĀBĀN* 𐬀𐬨𐬀—Eighth month sacred to the tutelary deity of waters. The plural form *ābān* is derived from Pahl. *ābāno*; Avestic *apān* (as in *Apāmnāpāt*) Skt. *apām*, waters. *Ābān māh* is the month sacred to waters, as the genius of Waters was considered the tutelary deity of this month. Aurel Stein identified this god with the figure of a bearded god with a trotting horse beside him found on a comparatively rare type of Kanishka coin with the legend LROOASPO, corresponding to *Aurvaṭ-aśpa* (swift-horsed), an epithet of the god *Apām-nāpāt*, "the Son of the Waters" which was turned into *Lōharāsp*.⁴

IX. *ĀZAR* 𐬀𐬵𐬀—Name of the ninth Zoroastrian month derived from Zend *Āthr* or *Ātar* (Fire), Pahl. *ātro*, Persian *āzar*. Persian *ātash* is also from the same word. In the Avesta *Ātar* is spoken of as the son of Ahur Mazda, and Fire is held in very high religious veneration amongst the Parsis. The Sacred Fire is kept aflame in Fire temples under the name of *Ātash Behrām*, *Ātar-Verethraghna*, the Victorious Fire.⁵

X. *DAĪ* 𐬀𐬵𐬀 Name of the tenth month of the Persian solar year, from *Dai*, Per. 𐬀𐬵𐬀 'yesterday' which is the same word as the Sanskrit *hyas*, Latin *heri*.⁶

XI. *BAHMAN* 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 Avestic *Vohu-Mano* (Good Mind) (Skt. वसुमनस, Pahl. *vahuman*, Pers. *Bahman*. In later Zoroastrian theology Bahman occupies the first place among the Holy Archangels while Ardibihisht, who was once the first,

¹ The protrusion of the vertical of this letter has not come out well. It stands for the sound sh.

2. Aurel Stein, *ibid* p. 94; Darmestetr, *ibid*.

3. Aurel Stein, *ibid*, p. 90.

4. Aurel Stein, *ibid*, p. 91.

5. I. J. S. Taraporevala, *ibid*, p. 100.

6. Darmestetr, S. B. E. *ibid*, p. 6, footnote.

becomes the second. It is said that Vohumano and Asha stand on either side of Ahura Mazda.

XII. *ISFANDARMAZ* اسفند آرمز Name of the twelfth month. It consists of two words, Avest. *Spenta*, white or holy and आरमइति, mother Earth, Avestic *Spenta-Armaiti*, 'Holy Earth,' the fourth angel or Amshaspand, the female deity presiding over the earth; Pahl. *Spandarmad*,¹ Pers. *Isfandārmaz*.

Six of the above months of the Old Persian calendar are named after the six Archangels or the Holy Immortals (*Amesh-spentas*) called Asha-Vahishta, Vohu-mano, Kshathra-Vairya, *Spenta-Armaiti*, Haurvatāt, and Ameretatāt. Their place is only next to that of Ahur-Mazda and with him they are also spoken of as the seven Holy Immortals. Three months are known after three kinds of fires, all of divine rank, viz. Mithra (Sun), Apām-Napat (Son of the Waters or Lightning) and Atar (Fire); one after the starry deity Tishtrya, one after the Fravashis, and the tenth month Dai (yesterday) is named arbitrarily as the month *prior* to the one coming after it.

The adoption of these month names provides another link in the chain of evidence proving strong Zoroastrian influence on the mind of Akbar. He had become a devout worshipper of the Sun, had ordered some Zoroastrian festivals to be publicly celebrated, had sent for Parsi doctors and religious divines and even commissioned the compilation of a dictionary of the Old Iranian language and literature which, although begun in his reign, was completed in the reign of Jahāngīr under the name of *Favhang-i-Jahāngīrī*.

*Additional Notes and Corrections*²

By Prof. J. M. Unwala.

1. *Farvardīn* فروردین, Mid. Pers. Books *Fravartīn* is from †*Fravartinām*, gen. plu. of **fravartī*, comp. φραορτης. Of course, it is related to Mid. Pers. *fravatīn*, and to Av. *fravasi*.

2. Stein's supposition that Mid. Pers. *tīr*, mp. تیر "arrow" is carried over to the name of the month. *Tīr*, is considered wholly improbable by Paul Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, s. 91, No. 406. Geiger takes *Tīr* to be the result of the contraction of the name *Tishtrya*.

3. Stein's *Ashaeikhsha* for *Ashavahishta* seems doubtful, although the rapprochement is striking. It is perhaps ΑΡΑΟΧ-

1. Bharucha, *ibid*, p. 26, 169-70.

2. I am greatly obliged to Prof. J. M. Unwala for kindly going through the above paper at my request and sending me some valuable suggestions which are gratefully reproduced here. V. S. A.

PO = *Ar* (e. g. in *Armin*) *duxat* "princess; queen", J. Kirste Orabazes, (*S. Wien. AW.* 182. Bd. 2, Ābh.) s. 18 seq.

4. *Amardād*, mp. امرداد Av. *Amēretatāt* and also *Amerētāt*; the latter form through haplogy.

5. *Apām napāt* does not mean "son", but "grandson" Germ. "Enkel" of waters".

6. Mid. Pers. *dē*, mp. *dē*, *daž* is developed from Av. *dadhvāngh* (दध्वच्), perf. part. active (*atmanepada*) from $\sqrt{dā}$ "he who has created; Creator", by the elision of *v* after the consonant. (See H. Huebschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 273, § 57 c.). The 8th, 15th and 23rd days of the month are also called *dē*, but in order to avoid confusion, they are called *dē-pa-Ādar* (*Ātur*), *dē-pa-Mihr* and *dē-pa-Dīn* respectively, i.e. the days *dē* which precede the days *Ātur*, *Mihr* and *Dīn* (9th 16th and 24th days). In our common parlance we call them देयादर,, देपमेहर, देपदीन. *Dē* has thus nothing whatsoever to do with mp. دی "yesterday".

A UNIQUE ONE-EIGHTH RUPEE OF JAHANGIR

By C. R. SINGHAL, BOMBAY.

The Indian numismatists will always remain under the debt of Mr. R. B. Whitehead for his very valuable contribution in the field of Mughal Numismatics in India. Over and above the Catalogue of Mughal coins in the Punjab Museum which was so ably compiled by him, he contributed some important articles on "Some Notable coins of the Mughal Emperors of India" published in three parts in Vols. III, VI and X of the 5th series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In these articles he brought to light many unique and rare Mughal coins found in the collections of various countries in Europe and America and but for his efforts, these coins would have undoubtedly remained unknown to us. The truth of the dictum that no researches can be called the last word on any subject is however proved by the discovery of this unique coin which forms the subject of this note. The coin belongs to my friend Mr. Sadanand M. Shukla of Bombay who is a keen collector and a budding student of Indian numismatics. No catalogue of Mughal coins in India has described a single two-annas piece of Jahangir. In part I of his above article, Mr. Whitehead has however, described a small silver piece of Ajmer mint, date 1032-18 (vide No. 99). This piece, which belongs to Mr. Guthrie's collection, weighs 23 grs. and is evidently a two-annas piece of Jahangir. Except of this similarity of denomination, our coin is entirely different in mint, date and the legend. The coin is in a very good condition and all the details can be read quite clearly. The most peculiar thing about the legend is that the Emperor has styled himself as 'Shāh Ghāzi' and not 'Bādshāh Ghāzi' as can be seen on some of his issues. The coin is struck at the Lahore mint in the year 1031-17 A. H. = 1621 A. D. and it weighs 21.5 grs. The legend runs as follows:—



Obv. in a dotted circle.

غازی
نکر شاہ



Rev. in a dotted circle.

سور
پ
۱۷
سنہ
۱۰۳۱

AN UNPUBLISHED COPPER COIN OF SHAMS-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SHAH BAHMANI.

867-887 A.H. = 1463-1482 A.D.

BY HURMUZ KAUS, HYDERABAD (DN.)

The legend on the reverse of the gold and silver coins of Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Shah III Bahmani ends with the words, خالد ملکہ and the legend on the reverse of his copper coins, known up till now, is the same as above but without the last two words, خالد ملکہ. The copper coin of this king which is published here for the first time is from my cabinet. The legend on its reverse is the same as the one found on his gold and silver issues¹, i.e., ending with the words, خالد ملکہ which are not found on his copper coins. The following is a description of the coin illustrated below:—



Metal.	Copper.
Size.	0.80" diam :
Weight.	270. grs.
Date.	869 A.H.

Obverse,

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ
الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
مُحَمَّدٌ بْنُ هَامِرٍ
نَشَاةُ السَّلْمَانِ
خَالِدُ الْمَلِكَةِ

Reverse,

مُحَمَّدٌ بْنُ هَامِرٍ
نَشَاةُ السَّلْمَانِ
خَالِدُ الْمَلِكَةِ
٨٦٩

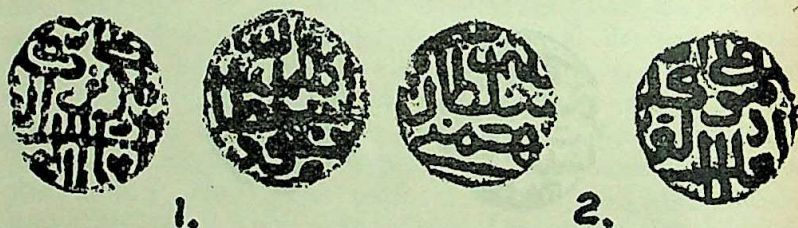
Fortunately the reverse shows a complete impression of the lower portion of the die, hence the last words, خالد ملکہ and the date are clearly visible. Portions of the circles are visible partly on both the sides.

[1. See *I. M. C.*, Voll II, No. 84-85. *Editor, S. A. S.*]

UNRECORDED LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF KALĪMULLAH BAHMANI.

BY HURMUZ KAUS, HYDERABAD (DN.)

The inscriptions hitherto found and recorded on the large size copper coins of Kalīmullah, the last of the Bahmani kings is المؤيد بنصر الله الملك القوي الغنى on the obverse, and كليم الله السلطان بن مكتوم شاه البهمنى on the reverse. I have a coin of this king in my cabinet which in metal, weight, size and shape is exactly similar to the one described above. The legend on the reverse is also similar to the one on the reverse of the above coin, but the legend on the obverse is totally different from the one on the obverse of the above coin.



The unrecorded legend, the subject matter of this note, runs thus :—

المعزك على الله العادل القوي الغنى

(Fig. 1.)

Another coin of this king in my cabinet, also of copper, and of the size next smaller to the one described above, is also a normal issue in all respects, except for the legend on the obverse, which is different from the one on the coins already known. The legend is similar to the one now noted above, but without the word Al-Qavi; it reads thus :—

المعزك الله العادل الغنى

(Fig. 2.)

I need not give the readings of the legends on the reverse of these coins and other details regarding the weight, size, etc. as they are well known to collectors and students of the coins of the Bahmani Dynasty.

DATE ON ZAFARABAD COIN OF AURANGZEB

BY HURMUZ KAUS, HYDERABAD (DN.)

No date appears on the only known copper coin of Aurangzeb of Zafarabad mint described by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal in Article No. 251 in the Numismatic Supplement No. XXXIX of 1925, Plate II, coin No. 6. Its weight is shown as 320 grains and size as .87 of an inch. In the short description of the mint, following that of the coin, the author says that this is not known to have been represented in copper before.

Bidar fell to Aurangzeb in 1657 and was renamed Zafarabad in commemoration of his victory. He ascended the throne in 1659 (1069 A.H.) when his name was read in the Khutba and coins were struck with his imperial titles. Zafarabad coins of Shah Jahan, in metals other than copper, of the last year of his reign are known, from which it is evident that Bidar was renamed Zafarabad immediately after its capture. A copper coin of Aurangzeb of Zafarabad mint in my cabinet, illustrated below, is similar to the one described in the Numismatic Supplement, referred to above, but is different in size and weight; its regnal year احد (Ahad) corresponds to A.H. 1069/1070.

The following are the details of the coin :—

Metal.	Copper.
Weight.	125 grs.
Size.	.75"
Date.	R. Y. 1. (=1069/1070. A.H.)
Mint.	Zafarabad.



Obverse.

[اورنگ زیب]
[ظفر آباد]
[س شا]



Reverse.

ظفر آباد
ب
سنة احد
(سنة)

THE TITLE "HAZRATH" OF MINT SULTANPUR (WARANGAL).

BY H. KAUS, HYDERABAD (DN.)

Warangal was captured along with Bidar, by Prince Lūnā then known as Ulugh Khan, during the short reign of his father from 720 to 725 Hijri. After doing away with his father the Prince ascended the throne with the title of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and ruled from 725 to 752 Hijri. Warangal was renamed Sultānpur and was given the status of an imperial mint, giving it the titles, "Takht-Gāh" and "Dār-ul-Mulk".

Illustrated below is a coin from my cabinet, struck by Muhammad bin Tughlaq, at Sultanpur, showing the hitherto unrecorded title "Hazrath". The metal is copper, and the coin roughly measures 0.55" in diameter and weighs 65 grains. The inscription runs as follows :—



Obverse.

عدل
محمد شاه

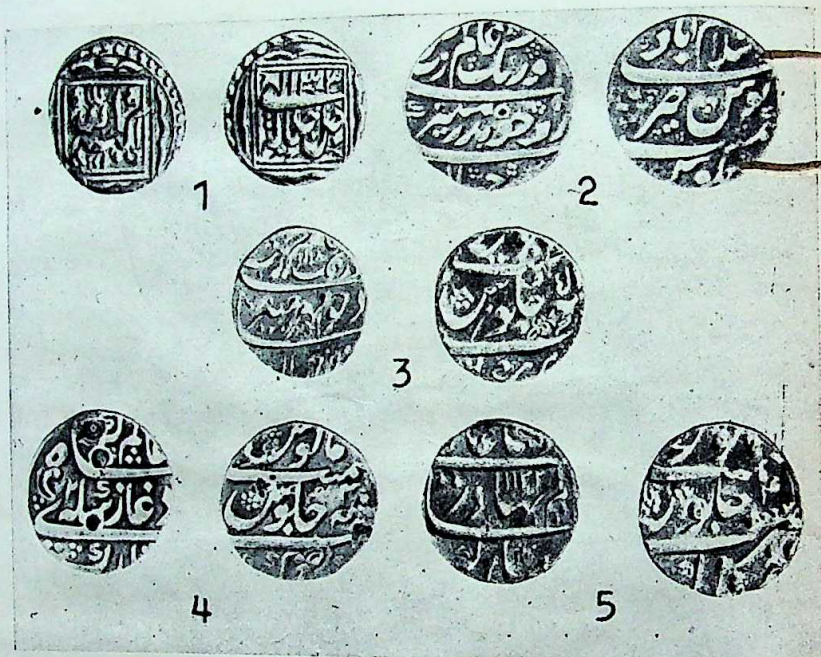
Reverse.

بحضرت
سلطانپور

On his earlier coin Muhammad bin Tughlaq has paid tribute to his father, whom he had assassinated, by issuing coins in his memory, and by mentioning his father's name after his own. He has used the word "Shāh" very sparingly after his own name. Hence this coin with the word Shāh should belong to the closing years of his reign.

J. N. S. I., 1945

Plate VII



Obverse


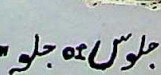
Reverse



3

ENLARGED

M.  below 

M.  below  جلوس or جلو

NEW MUGHAL COINS.

Please read Pl. VII for Pl. V on p. 65 lines 5, 19 and 38 and p. 66 lines 8, 24 and 48.

SOME UNPUBLISHED MOGHUL COINS.

BY CAPT. P.S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD (DN.)

A MINTLESS MOHUR OF JALALUDDĪN AKBAR.

1. A. Wt. 186.69 grs. Size .75"

Mint—Mintless type. Date 33 R. Y. Illahi. Pl. V, 1

Obverse.

In double square within a triple circle, the middle one of dots, and separated from the square by four ornamental wavy lines, on floral background.

الله
اکبر

Reverse.

Contained as
obverse.

۳۳ الهم
جل جلاله

Square Mohurs of 33rd R. Y. are known, but no round Mohurs of the same year have yet been published.

ISLAMABAD RUPEE OF AURANGZEB 'ALAMGĪR.

2. R. Wt. 175.77 grs. Size .9"

Mint Islamabad (Chittagong). Date 1076 A.H.—8 R.Y.

Pl. V, 2

Obverse.

The usual 'Badre Munir'
cuplet.

Reverse.

[A]
[۱] سلام آباد
مانوس ضر ۷۶ [۱۰]
میمنت
جلوس

This is an early type with Mint name on the top line on the reverse, but this is not the interesting point. It is dated 1076 A. H., when Chittagong was renamed Islamabad in that year, on the conquest of Arakan by Aurangzeb. This is the first Moghul issue from this rare mint. Though gold and silver issues of 1074 A. H. are known, they do not belong to Chittagong and their probable attribution to any place is doubtful. Chakna is the only possible suggestion offered by the late Professor S. H. Hodivala. Vide article No. 211 of N. S. XXXIV.

PARENDA MOHUR OF AURANGZEB.

3. A. Wt. 170 grs. Size .77"

Mint Parendā. Date 1118 A.H.; 51, R. Y. Pl. V, 3

Obverse..

'Mehr Munir' couplet and
date 1111A

Reverse.

مانوس
میمنت
سنه ۵۱ جلوس
[ضرب]
سرنهدا

Mintmark and below مهر Mintmark and below جلوس of

This coin is given in enlarged size also on **Pl. V** in order to show clearly the mint marks referred to above.

This is the earliest Mughal mohur from Parendā mint. Parendā is now situated in Osmanabad District, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, vide *N. S.* XXXI article No. 196 (x) by the late Professor S. H. Hodivala and subsequent discovery of Rupees with clear and complete mint name, Parendā, was published in the Report of the Archaeological Department, of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions 1921-1924 A.D.

Mohurs of Farrukhsiyar and Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur are known. This is a third and unique mohur of Aurangzeb from Parendā mint that has been brought to light. The Mint marks or decorations also appear to be new and so far as I know, it is the latest known gold issue of this Emperor.

FEROZGADH RUPEE OF AZIZUDDIN 'ĀLAMGĪR II.

4. R. Wt. 178 grs. Size .85"

Mint Firozghadh. Date 1172 A.H.; 4 R.Y. **Pl. V, 4**

Obverse.

عالمگیر شاہ
[با] دغا: سکه ۷۲ [۱۱]
مبارک

Reverse.

مانوس
میمنت
سنه ۴ جلوس
ضرب
[نزدک]

Mohurs of Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur and Furrukhsiyar and also Rupees of Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur and Shāh 'Ālam II from Firozghadh mint are known, (vide Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions 1924-1925 A.D. Pages 19 and 20) but so far no coin of Azizuddin 'Ālamgīr II has yet been published.

Firozghadh has been identified with Yādgir, now in Gulbarga District, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, by the late Professor S. H. Hodivala (Vide *N.S.* XXVIII article No. 182).

There is also a mohur of Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur or Firozghadh mint in my collection with date 1122 A.H.—4 r. y., the mohur in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, (Coin No. 2000.) being dated 1122 A.H.—3 r. y.

Pl. V, 5

A NOTE ON SOME COPPER COINS OF PERSIA.

BY MR. M. I. CHAUDHARI, AG. CURATOR, PROVINCIAL
MUSEUM, LAHORE

Persian or Iranain coins have been always finding their way to India. Even Laris of Persian origin have been discovered in one hoard in the Madras Presidency along with coins of Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor. I have had opportunities of examining a very large number of these coins in Bombay, Aden, Sind and the Punjab and had to display quite recently all Persian coins in the Punjab Museum Cabinet for the Persian Cultural Mission, when they visited Lahore. It will be worth while bringing to the notice of numismatists the true reading of legends and significance of some of these coins.

The coin No. 576 which has been illustrated in Pl. XV of the *Catalogue of the Coins of Shahs of Persia* in the British Museum has been described by R.S. Poole as follows:—

Obv : Lion recumbent ; head facing ; behind, sun ;
above, star ; between 1272 around wreaths.

سنة

Rev :

فلوس رايج
ممالك

محمد شاه و ايران

Obverse struck by Nasirud-din, 1272.

This type of coins is very common and after examining a fairly large number of them I read the reverse as follows:—

فلوس رايج
ممالك

محمود شاه ايران

The legend given in the *B. M. C.*, even as it is, does not give a good sense, as it means "Pice current in the countries of Muhammad Shah and Iran" as if Iran is different from the countries of Muhammad Shah. But it is wrong, for شاه in the sense of king is always written as شاه and never as شاه with clear alif after ش. There are no dots on شاه to make it شاه in the plate itself. We do not hear of شاه ممالك or شاه ممالك شاه ممالك whereas ممالك هند are well known.

The , of شاه is almost clear on the coin and I have examined coins where شاه is almost clear on the coin. The

word *محرور* not only give a good sense but is also in keeping with the traditional numismatic way of suffixing the word *محرور* with or without the definite article *ال* al with the towns and countries.¹ I know of 14 mints of Asia, Africa and Europe having the word *محرور* with them. Ferozabad, Damascus, Ceuta, Cairo, Constantinople and Azaq may be mentioned as important mints with *المحرور* as their suffix.

Thus the true legend on Rev : is *فارس رايج ممالك محروسه ايران* which means "Pice current in the garrisoned or protected provinces of Iran".

This type of coin, I further believe, belongs to the autonomous currency of Persia.²

1. For other mints with *المحرور* see pp. 127-198 of Codrington, *Musalman Numismatics*.

2. Compare autonomous copper coins 1 to 6, pp. 212-18 of the *B. M. C. of coins of Shahs of Persia*.

COINAGE BEARING THE NAMES OF INDIAN QUEENS

BY SIR RICHARD BURN, OXFORD.

The discovery of some small silver coins bearing the name of Rājī Lalitā-sundarī Devi of Nepal suggested a study of the circumstances which have attended the coinage of money in the names of queens. It will be seen that it has resulted from a variety of motives and often illustrates vividly and confirms the written annals. In some cases, the practice has been due to the assumption of, or claim to, sovereign power; in others it has been due to honour paid by a ruling sovereign to his consort, and in one to superstitious fears.

In the Muslim East the right of coinage was looked on as a royal prerogative. The late Professor Hodivala has said: "The proclamation of the regnant appellation and titles of the actual occupant of the throne or of a presumptive claimant to the *masnad* in the Friday prayers, and the stamping of money inscribed with his *Alqāb* were universally regarded as manifestoes of unchallenged supremacy or incontrovertible proof of rebellion and treason".¹

But before Islamic restrictions had reached India, there is a remarkable example of feminine influence. Kshemagupta, who ruled Kashmir from 950 to 958 A.D., married Diddā, daughter of a Shāhi chief and grand-daughter of King Bhīma, one of the Hindu rulers of Kabul and Ohind. She dominated her feeble husband, and as Kalhana says in his Chronicle; "As Diddā, the Shāhi's daughter, wholly engrossed his mind, the King became known by the humiliating (appellation) Diddākshema".² This condition is reflected on the coins of Kshema, which usually bear the inscription 'Di-Kshema', coins with Kshema alone being very rare.³ Her later history often recalls Virgil's "furens quid femina possit", though it may be admitted that she had to face many troubles and did so bravely. After her husband's death she exercised full powers for her infant son with a succession of ministers, and constant rebellions to check. The son died in 972 and in the next seven years Diddā's lust for power led her to get rid of two of her grandsons and a son, so that she now reigned alone from 980 to 1003. Coins struck by her in her own name are among the most common of the medieval issues of Kashmir.

1. *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 380.

2. *Rājatarangini*, trs. Stein, I, p. 249.

3. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 45 n. 21.

Stein points out that, with all the defects of character, she showed great political ability and at her death the throne passed peaceably to her brother's son,¹ whom she had selected by a test from her numerous young nephews. She had a quantity of apples thrown down and told the princes to scramble for them. When the contest was over, she noticed that most of the youths had few apples but many bruises, while one had much fruit and no injuries. His explanation was naïve but sufficient: "I got the fruits by making those (boys) fight furiously with each other while I kept apart, and thus I remained unhurt. What successes do not fall to the share of those who without exerting themselves excite the passions of others and stand by with a cool mind"².

Unfortunately we have fewer details of the next lady known to have struck coins in her own name. This was Somaladevī, wife of Ajayarāja, the Chāhamāna chief of Sāmbhar in Rājputāna, who ruled a century later than Didda of Kashmir. Her coins were incorrectly read by Cunningham (*Coins of Medieval India*, p. 49 and Pl. VI-10, 12) and assigned to a Rājā, but the correct reading was pointed out by Rapson (*J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 121). Though Rapson was not able to identify the lady, it became certain that she was a Rāṇī of Sāmbhar from the details in the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya* which states that Ajayarāja filled the world with silver coins and the poets filled it with dramas composed in good literature.³ The author adds that his queen Somalekhā used to coin fresh coins every day. From an inscription found at Bijolia it appears that Somalekhā was another form of Somaladevī.⁴ Professor Rapson, in an unpublished note suggests that Somaladevī may have struck the coins as regent for her son, after her husband's death. It is, however, noteworthy that the only known copy of the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya* was written in the Śaradā character of Kashmir, and there are good reasons for believing that its author was a Kashmiri pandit (*J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 260-1) and it may be that Somaladevī knew of Didda's exploits and assumption of the royal prerogative of coining. The next example of coinage by Rāṇīs is more than three centuries later and, as will be shown, coinage in the names of Hindu ladies is otherwise known only in states in the Himalayas or adjacent tracts, Nepal, Assam and Tippera.

Owing to the seclusion of women by Muslims, coinage bearing their names is unusual. Raziyya who was Queen of northern India for a few years (1236-40 A. D.) struck coins.

1. *Tarangini*, I, pp. 104-6.

2. *Ib.*, VI, 360-1.

3. *J. R. A. S.*, 1913 p. 272.

4. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 344.

in her own name, but attached to it the minor *laqab* of *al-mu'azzam*, while she described her father Iltutmish as *al-a'zam*. She had been called to the throne in place of an unworthy half-brother, owing to her reputation for sagacity, and during her short reign appears to have been generally wise and energetic. But the times were troubled and her appointment of an African to high office aroused the jealousy of Turk nobles and a fresh rebellion replaced her by another half-brother. It is not improbable that her accession to royal power and her coinage were known to Shajarud-Durr who founded the Bahri Mamluks and reigned at Cairo for nearly three months in 1250 and struck coin in her own name, describing herself as "Queen of Muslims" and "Mother of the Realm". The impropriety of assumption of sovereign powers by a woman was pointed out by the Caliph of Baghdad and Shajar-ud-Durr married Aibaq and proclaimed him as Sultan, but like Diddā Rānī she held all power herself and when Aibag intrigued with a neighbouring ruler, she had him murdered in his bath, under her own superintendence. Three days later, in 1257 she herself was beaten to death with bath clogs at the instigation of a divorced wife of Aibaq.¹

A pleasing contrast to the careers of Raziyya and Shajar-ud-Durr is seen in the numismatic records of the three ladies who ruled in Bhopal State during the nineteenth century. Qudsia Begam (1819-37) struck coins in the name of the old Emperor of Delhi, and the money of Sikandar Begam (1844-68) is anonymous. Shāh Jahān Begam I (1861-1901) did, however, issue copper coins with her own title.²

Coins are, of course, known bearing the name of Nūr Jahān, wife of Jahāngīr, and struck during his life time. They were noticed by contemporary European traders in India and legends grew up about them. But Professor Hodivala has shown (*J. A. S. B.*, 1929, pp. 59-68) by a comparison of dates and mints that they were issued only in towns which were under the control of members of a party supporting the influence of the Empress. They cannot be taken as evidence of an independent power. A zodiacal muhr published by Dr. Whitehead³ is an apparent exception, as its inscription gives the Empress the title of Bādshāh and styles the Emperor by the lesser title of Shāh. It was struck in the 21st year of the reign at Lahore, when Jahāngīr had just been released from the captivity of Mahābat Khān, and it may have been intended to mark the greatness of Nūr Jahān's influence. But it is also

1. *B. M. C. Oriental Coins*, IV No. 469 and pp. xvii sq.

2. *Indian Museum Catalogue*. IV, p. 280 sq.

3. *Num. Chron.* 1931, p. 128. This valuable paper also summarises the rumours collected by Europeans about Nūr Jahān and coinage.

possible that the use of the title was merely due to the exigencies of metre as the names of both Jahāngīr and Akbar sometimes appear with the appellation of Shāh only.

The coinage of Assam gives examples of a different motive for placing the name of a queen on coin. It is said that Siva Simha, the Ahom ruler from 1714 to 1744, was superstitious and completely under the influence of Brahmans and astrologers. They had predicted that his reign would be short and he set himself to avoid this prophecy by placing the name of his wife on the coinage and declaring her to be the ruler with all royal rights, including that of striking coin. The money bears the name of Siva Simha and of three queens in succession¹. While there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the records on which this explanation is based, a precedent for the mention of the queen's name existed in the practice of a neighbouring State. Coins are known of 19 Rājās of Tippera of dates between 1467 and 1869 A.D., and 16 of these placed the names of queens on their money. As these names do not occur on every type issued, it is possible that the other three may also have observed the practice and in this State the use of the queen's name seems to have been to honour the royal consort.

It is, however, in the kingdom of Nepal that we have the fullest information about coinage in the name of queens, derived from the coins themselves, from the State chronicles and reports from British travellers and officials. Examples are given of mere courtesy, of feminine dominance and again of intrigue and counter-plot.

A very full description of this series by Mr. E. H. C. Walsh appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1908 (pp. 669-759); at pp. 704-5 and 712-3, he enumerates the cases in which the names of queens appear on coins. This practice began in the reign of Pratāpa Malla (1639-89) of Kāthmandū, one of the three Newar kingdoms into which the State had recently been divided.² The chronicles mention that he brought two Rānīs from Tirhut.³ Pratāpa Malla is described as a learned man, who prided himself on his knowledge of languages and written characters of many kinds. He probably knew of the practice in Tippera, and in Assam, but while he did not associate either of his wives' names with his own on his coins, he struck some in 1649 in the name of Rānī Rūpamatī, the daughter of Bīr Nārāyaṇa, Rājā of Koch Bihar.⁴ One of

1. E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 117-8; J. Allan, *The Coinage of Assam, Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909, pp. 4-5.

2. It was thus only a few years before the striking of names of queens took place in Assam.

3. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 213.

4. Levi, *le Nepal*, II, p. 155.

Pratāpa Malla's sons Pārthivendra Malla, who was allowed to reign for a short time during his father's life-time, placed the name of his wife Rājya-lakshmī-devī as well as his own on his money in 1682, and the example was followed by a successor Jaya Jagajjaya in 1732 whose queen was Kumudinī Devī. A similar practice was followed in the State of Patna, which had divided from Kāthmaṇḍū about 1603. Here Yoga Narendra Malla fifty years later struck coins bearing in addition to his own name (1) that of Yoga-lakshmī-devī alone (2) those of Yoga-lakshmī-devī and Narendra-lakshmī-devī together and (3) of Narendra-lakshmī-devī and Pratāpa-lakshmī-devī together. And a successor Jayendra Malla similarly honoured his queen Bhāgavatī Devī.

Feminine influence was, however, strong in Nepal, and evidence of this appears both from the chronicles and from the coins. Thus Yogamatī, who appears to have been the widow of Rājā Yoganarendra of Patna,¹ had her name placed on coins along with those of two infant sons in succession, viz. Loka Prakāśa Malla (1707) and Vira Narasimha Deva (1709). In 1746, when the Newar rulers were losing their grip and the danger of Gorkha conquest was increasing, coins were struck separately in the name of a boy called Jyoti Prakāśa Malla and also in that of Jaya-lakshmī-devī, who describes herself as Jananī or Queen Mother. The coins are clear though the chronicle gives the lady's name as Dayāvatī. (Wright, pp. 223-4). The same appellation is used by Kumudinī-devī, widow of Jagajjaya Malla, whose name had already appeared with that of her husband. Jagajjaya died in 1732 and was succeeded by his son Jaya Prakāśa, who also coined in his own name. The coin which bears the name of Kumudinī-devī alone is dated by Mr. Walsh (No. 39, p. 730) in 876 of the Newār era, corresponding to 1756 A.D. This date falls in the troubled period when the three Newar rulers were at loggerheads and the Gorkhas were gradually sapping their power.

The Gorkha conquest was completed by 1768 and Prithvi Nārāyaṇa, the first Rājā of the whole state, allowed his Rānī Narendra-lakshmī-devī to strike coins in her own name in 1771. His son and successor Pratāpa Simha Saha reigned for only 3 years (1774-7) and allowed the name of his wife Rājendra-lakshmī-devī to appear, without his, on coinage of 1775 and 1776. Feminine influence increases from this period, while the Rājās themselves show the decline from manly vigour which brought the nominal Rājās and Mahārājās of Nepal under the actual control of Ministers or Commanders-in-Chief.

1. Inscription No. 22, pp. 192-98, *Indian Antiquary*, 1880,

When Rāṇā Bahādur succeeded his father in 1777, he was only three years old and the Queen Mother again struck coins in her own name (1778). Here she was clearly asserting her authority as Bahādur Saha, brother of the late king, had hastened back to Nepal from British territory to seize the powers of regent for his infant nephew. Till the Rāṇī died in 1795, these two remained on terms of enmity, though at one time it was alleged that a secret marriage had taken place between them. As Mr Walsh explains (p. 712), Rāṇā Bahādur assumed power for himself in 1795 and imprisoned his uncle. His own marriages led to great trouble, which is illustrated by the coinage. His first wife appears to have been Lalitā Tripurā Sundarī, a daughter of a king of another small state in Nepal, a lady who stands out in the history of the country for her intelligence and devotion. Unfortunately, she had no son and Rāṇā Bahādur first took a slave girl,¹ by whom he had an illegitimate son, and then formally married a Brahman widow from Tirhut, whose son Gīrvāṇa Yuddha Vikrama Saha eventually succeeded him. This last connection between a Rajput and a Brahman woman and events which followed so shocked religious sentiment that in 1799 or 1800 Rāṇā Bahādur had to leave Nepal and repent in the holy precincts of Benares where he married again. He had designated as his successor his son Gīrvāṇa Yuddha, whose name appears on coins from 1799 onwards.

Even before Rāṇā Bahādur's accession to power coins were struck in the name of Rājarājeśvarī-devī (1789, 1790, 1794), who was apparently the slave girl he had taken as concubine. Mr. Walsh's description of the coins struck in the names of Nepalese queens in the first half of the 19th century, viz. of Siddhī-lakshmī-devī (Nos. 50-1), Lakshmī-devī, Sundarī-devī (Nos. 64-8) and Sāmrajya-lakshmī-devī (No. 69) does not always give the detailed inscriptions on the coins or the dates on them. At p. 712 he describes the Brahman lady married by Rāṇā Bahādur as Rājendra-lakshmī-devī and assigns to her two coins bearing that name, as widow of her husband (No. 21) and as regent for her son Gīrvāṇa Yuddha (No. 34). From the dates on these coins, however, (1776 and 1778) it is clear that the Rājendra-lakshmī-devī of the coins is the widow of Pratāpa Simha Saha, father of Rāṇā Bahādur. I cannot find in the records the name of the Brahman lady. It is, however, clear that Rāṇā Bahādur did not, as Mr. Walsh suggests, appoint her as Regent for Gīrvāṇa Yuddha, when he retired to Benares as she had died before his exit.²

1. B. H. Hodgson in a report dated in 1837, described her as the daughter of a small landholder. *Life* by W. W. Hunter, p. 96.

2. Lévi, II pp. 281-2 and Buchanan, *Kingdom of Nepal*, 1819, pp. 251-2.

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The British Museum coins are not at present available for study, but Mr. J. Allan, the Keeper, has kindly given me a list of those struck about this period. Two are of ladies whose names I cannot trace in the records, viz. *Suvarṇa-prabhā-devī* (1801) and *Amara-Rājeśvarī-devī* (1802). Possibly they were other wives of *Rāṇā Bahādur*. There is also a *Siddhī-lakshmī-devī*, whose coins are dated in 1810 and 1814, and who may have been the wife married by *Rāṇā Bahādur* during his exile.

Mr. Walsh quotes coins of *Lakshmī-devī* as *Sundarī-devī*, (1816-32) Nos. 64 to 68, and implies (p. 712) that the names appear jointly. In Mr. Allan's list, however, no coins are given with the names of two *Rāṇīs*. Recently I acquired three coins struck in the name of *Lalitā-sundarī-devī*, the dates on which are significant in the light of the known history, and this is confirmed by Buchanan, (*Kingdom of Nepal*, 1819, pp. 251-2). This lady who had accompanied her husband to Benares, decided to return in 1802 to Nepal, where a Pande Minister had installed the former slave as regent. She was followed shortly afterwards by *Rāṇā Bahādur* himself, who though he did not replace his son on the throne, continued to be a cause of hatred, especially among the Brahmans whose endowments he had forfeited, and to whom his earlier acts of sacrilege and wrongful marriage had been most repugnant. In 1807 the passage of a jackal through the city of *Kāthmaṇḍu* was interpreted as an evil omen. A plot to get rid of *Rāṇā Bahādur* was headed by his illegitimate brother *Sher Bahādur*, whom he summoned on some pretext and ordered to proceed to the fighting in the district west of Nepal. In the quarrel which took place *Sher Bahādur* killed his brother and was himself slain by a *Thapa*, the father of *Sir Jang Bahādur* who became famous later. The chronicle reports that *Lalitā Tripurā Sundarī Devī* then became regent with *Bhīma Sena Thapa* as her chief minister¹, and this is confirmed by one of the new coins dated *Śaka 1729* or 1807 A.D. For a quarter of a century these two managed the affairs of the state with credit. A second coin struck in her name alone is dated *Śaka 1738* or 1816 A.D., the year in which *Gīrvāṇa Yuddha* died, and according to the chronicle (p. 284) *Lalitā Tripurā Sundarī* continued to be regent for her step-grandson *Rajendra Vikrama Saha*, who was only two years old when he succeeded. A third coin of this lady in the British Museum is dated 1819. Two coins bearing the name of *Goraksha Rājā Lakshmī Devī*, dated 1813 and 1816, were probably money of a wife of *Gīrvāṇa Yuddha*.

According to the chronicle it was about this time that *Bhīma Sena*, the Prime Minister, recommended that the young

1. Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 288.

Rājā, when he was aged about 10 or 11, should be married. Coins had already been struck in his name alone, but the British Museum contains two coins struck in 1823 and 1824 in the name of Sāmrajya-lakshmī-devī, the first part of this name being apparently equivalent to 'Supreme ruler'. My third coin of Lalitā-sundarī-devī is also dated in 1824 and was probably struck to assert the reality of her power. Mr. Walsh's reference, pp. 712-3, to a Rājendra-lakshmī-devī as grandmother of the young Rājā seems mistaken.

A vivid description of the intrigues which followed in the Nepalese court is given in Sir William Hunter's *Life of B. H. Hodgson*, who was assistant Resident or Resident at Kāthmandu from 1824 to 1843. Rānī Lalitā-sundarī-devī died in 1832, having guided the affairs of Nepal with the assistance of Bhīm Sena in the interest of the state according to her lights. The Rājā, as Hodgson reported in 1833 (p. 144), was of little account, but had a most ambitious senior Rānī, whom I take to have been Sāmrajya-lakshmī-devī. After the dates of the two coins mentioned, there is a break but her name appears again on coins dated 1833 and 1837. The earlier date coincides with the beginning of the Rānī's intrigues to restore to power members of the Pāṇḍe clan which had been ousted from public office by Bhīm Sena. The year 1837 was one of revolution and counter-revolution in Nepal (*Life*, p. 153) and in July of that year, when the Senior Rānī's youngest child died, Bhīm Sena was accused of having had it poisoned and was thrown into prison and the rest of his family placed under arrest. Bhīm Sena remained in prison under revolting conditions and subjected to further charges, till in 1839, when he committed suicide in despair. For a time the rival clan held power, but the Senior Rānī (Sāmrajya) was subject to extraordinary fits of passion and was finally forced into exile and died in 1841. A junior Rānī, who had been supporting the Thapas, obtained her full political rights as Queen in January, 1843 according to Hodgson (*Life*, p. 144) and I take it that she was the Rāja-lakshmī-devī whose coin in the British Museum is dated Śaka 1764 or 1842-3. Before long she too lost her influence and together with her husband was exiled in 1845 or 1846 and (Sir) Jang Bahādur restored the power of the Thapas and became Prime Minister. Surendra Vikrama succeeded as Rājā in 1847 and the coin struck in the same year in the name of Trailokya-lakshmī-devī (not in Mr. Allan's list) is probably that of one of his queens, while a coin dated 1848 (in the British Museum) bears the name of Devarājā-lakshmī-devī, possibly another wife.

Coinage in Nepal continued to bear the names of Rānīs, but I have traced no historical connections with them, and

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they were probably issued by way of courtesy, like the coins of Tippera.

POST-SCRIPT BY THE CHIEF EDITOR

If by Indian queens, we mean queens who ruled in India, and not necessarily those who were Indians by birth, we may include in this paper two Indo-Greek queens, Agathokleia and Calliope. The former was the regent for her infant son Strato I. In the beginning she issued coins with her name and bust on the obverse and her infant son's name only on the reverse. Later on, when Strato I was associated with her as the crown-prince, Agathokleia issued coins with conjugate busts of herself and her son. When eventually Strato ascended the throne he issued his own independent coinage. All these types are illustrated in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Pl. VII Nos. 19, 20, 25. Calliope has been associated with Hermaios on a conjugate bust type, and it is usually assumed that she was his queen. Whether she was a Greek or Scythian lady and what precisely is the significance of her appearance on the coinage of Hermaios, are still matters of conjecture only. Laodice, who appears along with her husband Heliocles on a coin of Eucratides, was most probably not a queen, the coin in question being a commemorative medal.

A number of queens like Nayanikā and Prabhāvatīguptā ruled as regents in ancient India, but they did not issue any coins. Kumāradevī, the Queen of Chandragupta I who was a Lichchhavī princess, invariably appears on her husband's coins on the obverse. The king and the queen face each other, and the names of both of them are inscribed on the obverse. Mr. J. Allan holds that these are commemorative medals, *C. C. G. D.*, pp. xiv ff), but Smith held that they were the issues of Chandragupta I himself. The present writer has adduced additional reasons in support of the theory that these are no commemorative medals, but the normal issues of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī (*Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII, pp. 105 ff.)

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE INDIAN MINT AND MONEY DURING THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

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Not much is known about the problems regarding the ancient Indian mint and currency. But we have some idea of the monetary problems relating to the late medieval period of Indian history. It may be suggested that a number of facts known about the mint and money of the seventeenth or eighteenth century India were also true in the case of minting in the pre-Musalman days. Thus the facts which are summarily discussed in the following notes are not without bearing also on the study of early Indian numismatics.

1. THE MARĀṬHĀ MINT UNDER THE PESHWĀS

The Hindu view as regards mint and currency is supposed to be reflected in the following observation: "No Government has the right to close its mints or to say that the currency of the country was either deficient or redundant. That is a question solely for the bankers, traders and merchants to consider. If they do not require money, they will not purchase bullion to be coined. The duty of Government is merely to assay all bullion brought to the mint for coinage and to return the value of the bullion in money"¹ The great Śivājī also advocated the same policy. This is apparent from his reply to the prayer of the English merchants of the East India Company that their "money should go current in his dominions". The English were informed that the Marāṭhā king "forbids not the passing of any number of coins, nor on the other side can he force his subjects to take those monies whereby they shall be losers; but if their coin be as fine an alloy and as weighty as the Mughal's and other princes', he will not prohibit it".² The inevitable result of such a policy was that no less than 26 different sorts of gold coins were current in Śivājī's realm, some of which were foreign issues.³ Sabhāsad enumerates 32 different kinds of gold coins and 6 varieties of silver money while giving an account of the treasures of Śivājī.⁴ The same condition of things was true for the Marāṭhā country also during the later period. In an official list published for

1. Cf. Ranade, *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 330.

2. Sabhāsad, p. 95; Sen, *Śiva Chhatrapati*, p. 134 f.

3. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marāṭhās*, p. 318.

4. *Ibid*, p. 108.

the guidance of the civil courts in the Bombay Presidency, no less than 38 gold coins and more than 120 silver issues are mentioned as current in different parts of the country, so as to give the relative intrinsic values of the local currencies in exchange of Queen Victoria's coins.¹

The natural corollary of this system, as we see in the Peshwā period, was private minting which was not free but licensed. The owner of private mints was usually a *sonār* or goldsmith who had to pay for the license. The fee was paid in the shape of a royalty to the government, which varied in different cases. The holder of the mint license was responsible for preserving the purity of the metal for coining and for keeping up the standard proportion in the alloy. Violation of the contract led to punishment by fine or cancellation of the license. There is an interesting record which illustrates the system of private minting in the dominions of the Peshwā. "Bālājī Bāpujī is permitted to establish a mint at Kasba Nagothane and to coin pice 10 *māshas* in weight. If pice of the prescribed weight is coined, it will be alright; but if the pice is made less weighty he will be fined".² It was a license for the period of 3 years, for which Bālājī Bāpujī had to pay Rs 50 for the first year (in 4 instalments of Rs. 12. 8 as. each), Rs. 75 for the second year (in 4 instalments of Rs. 18. 12 as. each), and Rs 100 for the third year (in 4 instalments of Rs. 25 each).³

The Peshwās naturally did not tolerate unlicensed mints and debased coins. In some provinces of the Peshwās' dominions, however, the land-holders established their own mints from which counterfeit coins were issued. The province of Dharwar was especially notorious for minting debased coins. The first reference to this fact is probably contained in a record of 1760-61 A. D. of the time of Bālājī Bājī Rāo.⁴ "In Subha Dharwar, the mints for coining Hons, Mohars and Rupees issue false coins. In the old mints good coins were struck. Recently the Zamindārs have established mints almost at every house and are issuing bad coins." In order to remedy this evil, it was proposed to abolish the spurious mints and to establish a central mint. A license for the proposed central mint was granted to Pāṇḍurang Murār. "It causes loss to the Government. You represented that all these mints should be abolished and in their place a central mint should be established at Dharwar. Bad coins should be discontinued and good ones issued. Such a measure will be profitable to the Government. Therefore agreeing with your views that the continuation of

1. Ranade, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

2. *P. D.*, II, p. 157.

3. Sen, *Ad. Syst. Mar.*, p. 319.

4. *P. D.*, II, p. 164.

the issue of bad coins is not desirable and should be discontinued, the management has been entrusted to you. You should pull down the mints established in different places and found a central mint at Dharwar. You should also destroy the bad coins and issue good ones. The customary charge from former time is one Mohar for each thousand Mohars and one Rupee per thousand. The work of the mint should be profitable; therefore the Sawkars have been exempted from this charge for one year from Rabilakhar, San Ihide, to Rabilakhar, San Issanne Sitain. After this you should take the customary due of 6 per thousand coins and remit the same to the Government. In addition to this, take one coin more with the free consent of the Sawkars in your own name and remit that also to the government. Your dues will be afterwards fixed according to your service"¹ It is interesting to note that the customary mint charges were 7 coins per thousand—6 for the Government and 1 for the manager of the mint. The reform referred to in the document, however, could not be carried out till 1765-66. In that year, Peshwā Mādhava Rāo I had to issue a circular letter to the Kamavisdars, Zamindars and Sawkars informing that no payment will be accepted in future except in new coins.² There are other instances of the Peshwas' attempts to suppress spurious mints and false coins. But the Peshwā Government never assumed the actual control of the currency. It remain satisfied with supervision only.³

As to the working of the mints, the following account of the Chandor mint closed in 1830 AD. is very interesting. "A certain quantity of silver of the required test was handed over to each man who divided it into small pieces, rounded and weighed them, greater care being taken that the weights should be accurate than that size should be uniform. For this purpose scales and weights were given to each of the 400 workmen, and the manager examined them every week. When the workmen were satisfied with the weight of the pieces, they were forwarded to the manager who sent them to be stamped. In stamping the rupee, an instrument like an anvil was used. It had a hole in the middle with letters inscribed on it. Piece after piece was thrown into the hole, the seal was held by a workman called *batekari*, and a third man gave a blow with a six pound hammer. Three men were able to strike 2000 pieces an hour, or 20000 in a working day of ten hours. As the seal was a little larger than the piece, all the letters were seldom inscribed."⁴

1. *Ad. Syst. Mar.*, pp. 320-21

2. *Ibid*, p. 321.

3. *Loc. cit.* Sahu and the Rājā of Kolhāpur had their own mints.

4. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, p. 429,

It has been suggested that the above description holds good also for the mints of Śivāji's time. The suggestion can no doubt be proved by an examination of the legends on the Śivarāi coins, which are always found incomplete apparently "because the little circular pieces had originally been hammered on a seal of much larger size. The goldsmiths in charge of the mints could evidently boast of very little learning. On the copper coins alone we find no less than eight different spellings of the words *Śrī Rājā Siva Chhatrapati*."¹ As a matter of fact, however, the same conditions were undoubtedly present also in ancient India. Mistakes and incompleteness are by no means rare in the legends on old Indian coins.²

The Marāṭhā currency of the Peshwā period was supplemented by extensive use of *hundīs* or credit instruments. The revenue officers were always instructed to make use of *hundīs* in transmitting money to the central treasury. The popularity of the credit instrument is illustrated by a letter referring to a person who remitted by *hundī* the small sum of Rs. 13. 8 as. only.³ That the Indian currency was supplemented largely by the use of *hundīs* also in the ancient period is suggested by the old chronicles of Kashmir.⁴

With what we have learnt about the Marāṭhā mint of the late medieval period may be compared what the Kauṭīliya *Arthaśāstra* says about the ancient Indian mint. "The Superintendent of mint (*lakṣhañādhyaṅkṣa*) shall carry on the manufacture of silver coins (*rūpyarūpa*) made up of 4 parts of copper and $\frac{1}{16}$ part (*māsha*) of any one of the metals *tīkṣhṇa*, *trapu*, *sīsa* and *añjana*. There shall be a *paṇa*, half a *paṇa*, a quarter and one-eighth. Copper coins (*tāmra-rūpa*) made up of 4 parts of an alloy (*pādañjīva*) shall be a *māshaka*, half a *māshaka*, *kākañī*, and half a *kākañī*. The examiner of coins (*rūpadarśaka*) shall regulate currency both as a medium of exchange (*vyavahārikā*) and as legal tender admissible into the treasury (*kośapraveśya*). The premia levied on coins paid (into the treasury shall be) 8 per cent. known as *rūpika*, 5 per cent. known as *vyājī*, $\frac{1}{8}$ *paṇa* per cent. as *pārīkṣhika* (testing charge), besides a fine of 25 *paṇas* to be imposed on offenders other than the manufacturer, the seller, the purchaser and the examiner."⁵ "The state goldsmith shall employ artisans to manufacture gold and silver coins (*rūpyasuvārṇa*) from the bullion of citizens and country people. The artisans employed in the office shall do their work as ordered and in time. (The goldsmith of the

1. Cf. *Ad. Syst. Mar.*, p. 110.

2. Note e. g., the defective legends on some silver coins of Kumāragupta I, Nos. 868-84 of Allan's *Catalogue*, pp. 106-07.

3. *Ad. Syst. Mar.*, p. 321.

4. Cf. *Rāj. tar.*, V, 27.

5. Cf. Shama Sastry's trans., pp. 95-6. Cf. note 3, p. 83 below.

mint) shall return (to the owners, coins) of the same weight and of the same quality (*varṇa*) as that of the bullion (*nikshepa*) which was received (at the mint). With the exception of those (coins) which have been worn out or which have undergone diminution (*kṣhīṇapariśrṇa*), the same coins shall be received (back into the mint) even after the lapse of a number of years. The state goldsmith shall gather from the artisans employed in the mint information concerning pure gold, metallic mass (*pudgala*), coins (*lakṣhaṇa*) and the rate of exchange (*prayoga*). In getting a *suvarṇa* coin (of 16 *māśhas*) manufactured from gold or from silver, one *kākaṇī* ($\frac{1}{4}$ *māśha*) weight of the metal more shall be given to the mint towards the loss in manufacture. When the quality (*varṇa*) of a coin less than the standard of a *māśha* is lowered, the artisans (concerned) shall be punished with the first amercement. When its weight is less than the standard weight, they shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. Deception in the exchange of manufactured coins (*kṛitabhāṇḍopadhāu*) shall also be punished with the highest amercement. Whoever causes (gold and silver coins) to be manufactured in any place other than the mint or without being noticed by the state goldsmith shall be fined 12 *paṇas*, while the artisan who does the work shall, if found out, be punished with twice the above fine. If he is not found out, measures.....shall be taken to detect him. When thus detected, he shall be fined 200 *paṇas* or shall have his fingers cut off. Weighing balance and counterweights shall be purchased from the Superintendent in charge of them. Otherwise a fine of 12 *paṇas* shall be imposed."¹

2. THE COWRY SHELL.

Cowry shells are known to have been used as money in India, as in many other parts of the world, from very early times. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, who travelled in India about the beginning of the fifth century A.D., says about the people of the Madhyadeśa that "in buying and selling commodities they use cowries."² Apparently the pilgrim had occasion to make only small transactions and hardly came into contact with rich people. That is probably why he does not appear to have met with the copper, silver and gold coins issued by the early emperors of the Gupta dynasty.³ It is interesting to note that the same story is told

1. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 94-95

2. Raychandhuri, *Pol. Hist.*, pp. 469-70.

3. It should be remembered that coins had very high purchasing power in early times. In Kashmir, one *khārī* of paddy (117 pounds or $2\frac{1}{4}$ maunds) was sold in ordinary years at 200 cowries and at 3 cowries in a year of abundance in the ninth century A.D. About the end of the 11th century, the famine price of one *pala* ($\frac{1}{20}$ seer) of wool was 6 cowries and that of 2 *palas* of

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also by the foreigners who visited India during the late medieval period. Thomas Bowry, for instance, visited a village in eastern Orissa in the latter half of the 17th century, where he found the cowry shell to be the only money known to the village folk.¹ He further records that the whole population of an Oriya village was unable to change a single rupee into cowries, and that the villagers were even unable to distinguish between silver and German silver.²

The cowry has ceased to have any monetary value in eastern India for a long time; but it has retained its old position, theoretically at least, in the village *pāṭhśālās* of Bengal even today. In Bengali arithmetical works known as the *Dhārāpāt*, we still find a table styled *Karākiyā*, the unit of its calculation being the *karā* or *karī* which are the Bengali words for cowry. According to this table,

4 karās =	1 gaṇḍā				
20 "	= 5 "	= 1 buṛi			
80 "	= 20 "	= 4 "	= 1 paṇ (Sanskrit <i>pana</i>)		
1280 "	= 320 "	= 62 "	= 16 "	= 1 kāhaṇ (Sanskrit <i>kārshāpana</i>).	

It is wellknown that according to writers on law, *pana* was only another name for the copper *kārshāpana*, i.e. a copper coin weighing one *karsha* (=80 *ratīs* = 146.4 gr.).³ The

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grapes only 1 cowry. In Akbar's time, 8 seers of grapes were sold at a single Akbari *dam* of copper. Ibn Batuta's account gives the same picture for the 14th century Bengal. Husked rice was sold at the rate of 25 Delhi *rothls* (about 9 Bengal maunds) for a silver *dinār* (about one rupee). The quantity of paddy sold for 1 *dinār* was 80 Delhi *rothls* (2300 lbs. or 1976 lbs. i.e. 28½ or 24½ maunds). A milch cow was sold for 3 silver *dinārs* (3 rupees) and 8 fat fowls for a *dirham* (½ rupee). Even at the end of the 17th century, 580 lbs. (=7½ maunds) of rice were sold at Chittagong for one rupee, which was also the price of 60 good tame poultry. See Stein, *Kalhana's Rājataranginī*, II, pp. 308-28. Thomas Bowry, in the latter half of the 17th century, found that in Bengal a very good cow was sold for 4 s. 6d. (2 rupees), a good hog for ¾ rupee and 40 or 50 fowls for one rupee. See *A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, ed. R. C. Temple, 1905, pp. 198-194. According to tradition, 8 maunds of husked rice were sold at one rupee in Bengal during the viceroyalty of Shāhīstā Khān in the latter half of the 17th century.

1. Bowry, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

3. Manu, VIII, 186; Yājñavalkya I (āchārādhyāya), 364; *Amarakośa*, II, 8, 88. Relying on the commentaries on Manu, some scholars (of. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. clxxix; Bhandarkar, *Anc. Ind. Num.*, pp. 81-82) take Manu's *kārshāpana*, not in apposition with *purāṇa* or *dharana*, but as a copper coin only. This view is rendered untenable if Manu is read together with Yājñavalkya and Amara. The *Arthasāstra* (quoted above, p. 9) seems to recognise *pana* as a silver coin. That this is due to a confusion with *kārshāpana* and is a mistake is clear from the amounts of the different *sāhasaḍaṇḍas* (amercements) as found in the works of Kauṭilya (*Arthasāstra*, III, 17), Manu (VIII, 139) and Yājñavalkya (I, 365) all of whom practically agree in the numbers of the *panas*. The first amercement is between 48 and 96 (100 and 200 ?) *panas* according to Kauṭilya, 250 *panas* according to Manu, and 270 P. T. O.

kāhan = *kārshāpana* is no doubt the silver coin of that denomination, which must have originally weighed one *karsha* but was later made 32 *ratis* (= 58.56 gr.) in weight, and was otherwise known as *purāṇa* or *dharana*.¹ According to the Bengali practice, the *burī*, *paṇ* and *kāhan* are written respectively as the modern pice, anna (= 4 pice) and rupee (= 16 annas). The words *annā* and *paṇ* are moreover used synonymously in the Bengali language. That *burī* was a smaller copper coin, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a copper *paṇa* in value, is probably suggested by the *Mrichchhakatika* and *Līlāvatī*. The former refers to the *voḍika* (= *boḍi* = *burī*) in connection with the *suvarṇa* (gold coin) and *kārshāpana* (silver coin).² Apparently the same coin or a similar one was known as *kākinī* at least in the Marāṭhā country about the end of the thirteenth century when the great astronomer Bhāskara-chārya composed his *Līlāvatī*. There is practically no difference between the table quoted above and the following one from Bhāskara-chārya's work.³

20 cowries =	1 <i>kākinī</i> (same as <i>burī</i>)
80 „ =	4 „ = 1 <i>paṇa</i>
1280 „ =	64 „ = 16 „ = 1 <i>dramma</i> (same as <i>kāhan</i>)
20480 „ =	1024 „ = 256 „ = 16 „ = 1 <i>nishka</i> (gold coin)

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panas according to Yājñavalkya. The second amercement is between 200 and 500 *panas* according to K, 500 *panas* according to M and 540 *panas* according to Y. The third amercement is between 500 and 1000 *panas* according to K, 1000 *panas* according to M and 1080 *panas* according to Y. Now, though the figures for the first amercement in the *Arthasāstra* are not beyond doubt the figures of the other two amercements, when compared with the corresponding figures given by the other two authorities, leave hardly any about that *pana* was practically the same coin with all the three authorities and that in one case it cannot mean a silver coin when in the two other cases it certainly is a copper coin.

[No silver *panas* of 80 *rattis* have so far been found, nor does Kaṭilya state in the passage referred to above that they were of this weight. He gives 88 white *śarshapas* as the weight of a silver *māshaka* (II, ch. 37) but does not disclose any relationship between silver *māshakas* and *panas*. The punch-marked coins that are usually allotted to the Mauryan age do not weigh 80 *rattis*. Chief Editor.]

1. *Mrich.*, Act VIII, v. 40: *attham śadam demi suvarṇaam de kahāva-ṇam demi savodiam de* (= *artham śalam dadāmi suvarṇakam te kārshāpanam dadāmi savodikam te*). The *Mrich.* appears to be an adaptation or stage version of an old drama entitled *Charudatta*. That is probably why the author or authors of the adaptation considered it wise to pass it in the name of a mythical Śudraka. Reference to the *voḍi* = *burī*, which is only known in the Bengal region, may suggest that the adaptation was prepared in eastern India. Since the *burī* is not mentioned in ancient works, the does drama not appear to be early.

2. *Līlā*, I, 2.

3. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 348 n. It is not improbable that the coinage of Mahārāshtra could not be free from the influence of Imperial Gupta coins even in the early medieval period. That Gupta coins were popular in the District; cf. Allan, *CCGD*, p. cxxx.

It is interesting to note that 1280 cowry shells were considered equivalent to the old silver coin not only in medieval Bengal, but also in Mahārāshṭra during the early medieval period. As regards the other equation, 16 silver *drammas* = 1 gold *nishka*, it may be pointed out that, according to the Baigram inscription of 448 A.D., 16 silver *rūpakas* were equal to 1 gold *dīnāra* during the regime of the Imperial Guptas. But such equations must have necessarily depended on the weight of the coins as well as on the value of the metals in the locality in question. Thus we have an inscription¹ of the first quarter of the second century A.D. at Nāsik in Mahārāshṭra, according to which 35 *kārshāpaṇas* of silver were equivalent to 1 *suvarṇa* of gold. The relation of a cowry with the standard silver coin of a locality therefore could not have been the same in different parts of India even on a particular date. In Kashmir, for instance, 100 cowry shells were equal to one copper coin which consequently came to be styled the *śata*, (literally, one hundred), in modern pronunciation *hat*². The relation of the copper *śata* with the silver money of ancient Kashmir cannot be determined; but Stein has suggested that, in the Mughal period, the Akbari *dām* (a copper coin of 323½ gr.), 40 of which were equivalent to the Akbari rupee (silver coin), was also known as *hat*. Modern Kashmirian *hat* is considered to be of the same value as the British Indian pice. We do not know whether the Akbari *dām* was called *śata* = *hat*, because the two denominations were almost equal in weight, or because *dām* became the standard copper coin in place of the old *śata* after the annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal empire in 1586 A.D. It has, however, been suggested that the value of an Akbari *dām* in Kashmir was 100 cowries and that of an Akbari rupee 4000 cowry shells. But in eastern India the *kāhaṇ* was recognised in the late medieval period only as $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Mughal rupee. In eastern India, therefore, the number of cowry shells sold for a rupee was not the same as in medieval Kaśmir.

It is wellknown to students of the accounts of foreign travellers, who visited India during the late medieval period, that cowry shells were imported into India from the Maldive Islands³ and that 3200 of them were taken to be equivalent to one rupee in eastern India. The rupee here referred to is no doubt the Mughal silver coin corresponding roughly to 2s. 3d. or 2s. 6d.⁴ One Mughal rupee was thus considered equal to 2½ *kāhaṇs* of cowry shells.

1. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 159. It is probable that in this case the silver coins were lighter. These may have been the same as the coins of Nahapāna, which were about 36 gr. in weight (*ibid.*, p. 158, n. 5).

2. Stein, *loc. cit.*

3. Bowry, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80, 200.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

Although 1 rupee = 3200 cowries was the recognised ratio, the value of the cowry shell used to rise and fall according to the plenty or scarcity of them in the market. At Hughly, the cowry was sometimes 5, 6 or 10 per cent. dearer than at Balassore.¹ According to some observers, the price of the shell seldom rose or fell more than 2 *panas* (160 shells) in one rupee²; others, however, have noticed that sometimes 31 *panas* (2480 shells), 37 *panas* (2960 shells), 38 *panas* (3040 shells) or 40 *panas* (3200 shells) were going for a rupee.³ Thus the fall of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in the value of the cowry may not have been quite unusual, though in abnormal circumstances the percentage could have risen to $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The *Anglo-Indian Dictionary* by Whitworth of the Bombay Civil Service, which was published in 1885, recognises cowry as "a small shell, the *cyprula moneta*, still used as money in northern India; about 6500 go to the rupee." Thus the decrease in the 18th century in the price of the cowry shell is more than cent. per cent. of what it was a century earlier. This is apparently due to the fact that cowries were no longer regarded as money by the government of British India. It should be remembered that the shells continued to be used as money by the poor people for a long time after it had ceased to be recognised by the Anglo Indian government about a century and a half ago.

Cowries were sold by tale and not by weight. At the Maldive Islands, 40 or 42 *panas* (3200 or 3360 shells) could be purchased at 6 or 7 annas.⁴ A dollar was taken to be equal to 32 annas (= 2 rupees) and 240 or 250 *panas* (19000 or 20000 shells) were sold at a dollar. At the West Indian port of Surat where cowries were bought, they could not cost above 2 dollars (= 4 rupees) per hundred-weight or thereabouts. Thus between 9000 and 10000 cowry shells were purchased at a rupee at the Maldives; but they were sold in Bengal between 2500 and 3200 shells per rupee. There was apparently a very great profit in the trade of cowry shells. But the question is whether the Maldive Islands supplied cowries to India also in the ancient period. No definite answer to this question can be offered in the present state of our knowledge; but possibly they did.

A cowry shell became useless only when it was perforated. A worthless shell was known in Bengal as the *kānā-kari*, literally, a one-eyed cowry.

1. *Botory*, p. 217n.

2. *Ibid*, p. 219.

3. *Ibid*, p. 219n.

4. *Loc. cit.*

3. ADVENT OF THE MODERN RUPEE.

The mint was a source of income to the Indian governments. A heavy royalty was levied for coining bullion which was debased when occasion demanded. In order to give the mint sufficient work to do, the people were forced by the Mughal government to have their money recoined every year. For each year passed from the date of issue recorded on the coin, a heavy percentage was deducted from its value irrespective of its actual deterioration. A rupee that had been in circulation for one year lost 3 per cent. and after two years' circulation no less than 5 per cent. People had therefore to present the coins to the mints for getting them recoined before the end of the first or second year after their issue. Thus the mint had a flourishing business at the people's expense.

The Mughal government recognised silver as the only circulating medium. Gold coins called *mohars* were no doubt struck; but they were treated as bullion. The *mohars* were therefore sold at different prices according to the current price of gold—sometimes for 13, 14 or 15 sicca rupees. Copper coins were similarly sold not at their denominational value, but "at a lower rate, the proportion deducted depending on the locality and the comparative demand for silver and copper coins."¹

One of the most coveted insignia of sovereignty in medieval India was the striking of coins. Even little potentates who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Great Mughal tried to maintain their independent right of coinage. "As it was the last privilege to which fallen dynasties clung, so it was the first to which adventurers rising into power aspired."² As early as 1685, when the English merchants of the East India Company had only a few houses and gardens in Bengal, they sought for the dignity of having coins of their own. Silver money thus issued by various authorities in different parts of the country passed from province to province with wandering merchants and in payment of tribute. Different mints produced rupees of different weight and fineness and very few of them even adhered to their own nominal standard. Moreover the coins were subjected to various attempts at debasement when they reached the public. In the absence of an ideal standard coin, it became necessary to fix one by which to calculate the value of the different specie. The situation was faced in the following way. "When a sum of rupees is brought to a *shroff* (banker or money-changer), he examines them piece by piece, ranges them according to their fineness, then by their weight.

1. W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 298.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

Then he allows for the different legal *battas* (deductions) upon *siccas* and *sunats*; and this done, he values in gross by the current rupee what the whole quantity is worth. The rupee current, therefore, is the only coin fixed by which coin is at present valued; and the reason is, because it is not a coin itself, and therefore can never be falsified or worn."¹

The vitiated Indian currency of the mid eighteenth century has been described as the refuse of twenty different dynasties and petty potentates, which has been "clipped, drilled, filed, scooped out, sweated, counterfeited and changed from its original value by every process of debasement" during a period of four centuries.² Small coins could not change hands without a calculation regarding the amount that had to be deducted from their face value. When Bengal passed under the British rule, the treasury officers exacted from the land-holders a 3 per cent. discount for coins that were in circulation for one year and 5 per cent. for coins that were two years old. The discount was allowed, as already noticed, even where no actual deterioration had taken place. The land-holders naturally demanded a double allowance from the middlemen who, in their turn, exacted a quadruple from the poor peasants. This charge in exchanging old rupee was called *batta* which was the most undefined and oppressive of the illegal cesses that caused sufferings to the tillers of the soil. The rapacity of the collecting officers was unlimited owing to the absence of any recognised standard of the *batta* as regards the different types of coins in circulation. The great variety of coins in use was another source of difficulty to the poor peasant; because he never knew whether the coins for which he sold his crops would be accepted when he came to pay his rent. There were "cowries (shells), copper coins of every denomination, lumps of copper without any denomination whatever, pieces of iron beaten up with brass, 32 different kinds of ruppees from the full *sicca* to the *Viziery* ($\frac{37}{100}$ of the *sicca*), dollars of different standards of purity (worth from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 6d. according to weight and the current rates of exchange), gold *mohars* worth from 25s to 30s. each, and a diversity of Asiatic and European coins."³ At some treasuries of the East India Company (like that at Sylhet), payments in cowries were accepted; but at others (like that at Birbhum), they were not. Some of the Company's collectors accepted payment in gold, while others refused to do it. The people had to receive payment for their crops in coins whose value they did not understand. They had to pay their rent and taxes in those coins according to—

1. J. Steuart, *Principles of Money applied to Bengal*, p. 17; Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
2. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 294-95.

calculation which also they could not follow. The old custom of paying rent in the produce of the soil was no doubt free from these difficulties and was certainly a boon to the peasant.

The coins in circulation were insufficient for the commerce of the country. The Anglo-Indian government, however, repeatedly attributed the scarcity to the tricks of the bankers in raising the *batta* or exchange, to the extortions of usurers or to the combination of monied harpies. The remedy of the trouble was apparently to call in all the old coins and supercede the old currency by a new coinage of fixed weight and purity. But the East India Company had not the required bullion. The public would hardly bring their debased coins to the mint when recoinage cost them a heavy percentage.¹ They received back only $\frac{3}{8}$ of what they brought to the mint and that also after the lapse of a considerable period of time. As a result, ruppees disappeared and business came to a stand-still.

The fourfold currency of gold, silver, copper and notes, gradually introduced by the Anglo-Indian government, was faced with great difficulties. Offences against the coin such as counterfeiting, etc., could not be punished more severely than as cases of ordinary cheating. The notes were unpopular and were forced into circulation. The East India Company paid all salaries or fixed disbursements over £1200 per annum half in notes and half in cash. As a matter of fact, often there was nothing but paper in the Company's treasury and its officials had to be paid only with notes. In this way, the people even of remote places were saddled with the "Company's papers" which they could get rid of only at a loss. Unfortunately, however, the Company's Collectors were not instructed to accept payments if they had been tendered in notes.

The Company's attempt to mitigate the scarcity of silver coins by issuing a gold currency was a failure. The Council had not the requisite bullion for the purpose and had to induce the people to bring their gold for coinage by attaching an arbitrary value to the *mohar*. The gold coin was to pass "at a rate which exceeded by $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. its market value in silver".² The arbitrary fixation of the ratio between gold and silver at 16.45 to 1 in place of the market ratio of 14 to 1³ was the cause of great distress to the poor. "The Council by fixing the value of the new coins (*mohars*) at arbitrary rates had rendered it $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more profitable to make payments in

1. For a reference to "a profit to the merchant of gold 3 per cent. + a *batta* on the gold *mohar* 3 per cent. + a charge of coinage and duties 2 per cent. = 8 per cent.", see N.L. Chatterji, *Bimetallic Scheme of Oliva in Bhārata-Kaumudi*, Part I, p. 187.

2. Hunter. *op. cit.*, p. 302.

3. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

gold, but it had only done so by rendering it $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less profitable to pay in silver. The gains of the fortunate few who held gold had to be paid by a thousandfold by the unfortunate many who held silver."¹ According to the regulations of 1766, a *mohar* containing 149.72 gr. of pure gold passed for Rs. 14 i.e. at 10.694 gr. to the rupee; but according to the regulations of 1669, a *mohar* with 190.086 gr. of pure gold passed for Rs. 16, i.e. at 11.88 gr. per rupee. People found that they could always get the market value of their gold; but it was not possible for them to know what liberty the English merchants might take with their gold coins. As a result, they refused to bring their gold to the mint for coinage.

There were other causes also of the scarcity of coins in India during the second half of the 18th century. India always depended on foreign countries for a supply of precious metals.² The people of this country moreover absorbed in jewellery and domestic ornaments a vast quantity of silver coins that poured into the land in exchange for Indian goods. As early as the first century A.D., the celebrated Roman author Pliny complains, "The subject is one well worthy of our notice, seeing that in no year does India drain us less than 550000000 sesterces (22000000 dollars=61111111 rupees) giving back her own wares which are sold among us at fully hundred times their first cost."³ The Venetians, Portuguese, Dutch and English had all in their turn lamented the exportation of their coins in exchange of Indian products. In the 17th century a single West Indian port, viz. Surat, "received by way of the Persian Gulf alone half a million sterling per annum in specie."⁴ The quantity of bullion which the trade of the East India Company carried out of England annually was for a long time deplored by the English people. Upto 1765, the company's business was to send silver from England and to bring back Indian goods in exchange. In the above year, however, the revenues of Bengal passed to the company's hands and the annual surplus enabled it to discontinue importing specie for the purchase of goods.⁵ Moreover, it was observed

1. Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-03.

2. That silver and gold coins were imported into India also in ancient times is known from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, §49. See also W. H. Schoff's ed., p. 287.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 219. A large number of Roman coins of the Imperial period has been discovered in India. See Sewell, *Roman Coins found in India* in *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 591-637.

4. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

5. Hunter points out (*op. cit.*, p. 304), "If a district yielded as in the case of Beahboom, £ 90000 of revenue, the council took care that not more than £ 5000 or £ 6000 were spent in governing it. From the remainder, ten thousand pounds or so were deducted for general civil expenses, ten thousand more for the maintenance of the army, and the surplus of say £ 60,000 was invested in silks, muslins, cotton cloths and other articles, to be sold by the authorities in Leadenhall Street."

as early as 1750 that the payment of the Mughal emperor's revenue "sweeps away almost all the silver, coined or uncoined, which comes into Bengal. It goes to Delhi from where it never returns to Bengal; so that after such treasure is gone from Muxadabad, there is hardly currency enough left in Bengal to carry on any trade, or even to go to market for provisions and necessities of life, till the next shipping arrives to bring a fresh supply of silver."¹ Now that the annual influx of coins from England ceased, the scarcity of coins became very serious, especially as the consumption of metals went on as before. The evil was aggravated by other contributory factors such as (1) the drain of silver from Bengal to the company's settlements in Bombay, Madras and China; (2) the decline of trade with the neighbouring countries; (3) the suspension of silver importation by other European companies; (4) the expenses incurred on troops stationed outside Bengal,² (5) Nawab Mīr Qasim's flight with specie worth about 13 millions sterling; (6) the annual tribute of 26 lacs paid to the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Alam II; and (7) the use of the surplus revenues for the provision of the company's investment.³

To remedy the evils of *batta*, Warren Hastings enacted that no deduction should be made from an old coin unless it was actually deteriorated and that all future issues should bear one date, that of 1773. It is for this reason that numerous gold and silver coins are still found to bear the date "the 19th year of the auspicious reign of Shāh 'Alam."³

But the scarcity of coins was not mitigated. In 1780, the Calcutta shops remained shut for several days owing to a dispute about the value of the sicca rupee. In 1789, Lord Cornwallis issued an order to the effect that if a rupee was the genuine product of a recognised mint, no matter to what extent it had been clipped or drilled, the treasury officers were to receive it by weight according to fixed rates hung up in the Collector's office. The indefinite and arbitrary discount exacted by the treasury officers from very early times was thus put a stop to. These officers had so long the privilege of deducting from a coin whatever they liked and then returned it to circulation as payments of merchants' investments at rates fixed at their own will. Thus, although they received a

1. Mandeville's letter dated 27th November, 1750; Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

2. Cf. "Bengal from the very first seems to have been the milch cow from which the other Presidencies drew their support;" "...the council complains that the Bengal treasuries are completely emptied by sending coin to the other Presidencies." See Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 303, n. 98.

3. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84.

4. See my note on two such coins in *R.C. Magazine* (Faridpur), January, 1942, pp. 6.

salary of £ 40 per year, they actually earned an income of £ 4000 more. Very soon the treasury officers were made responsible not only for the net sums received, but also for the actual coin in which they were paid. The ruin of the profitable career of a treasury officer was complete.

The coins were now divided into two classes: (a) the statutory coinage to be received at its full value, and (b) the deteriorated coins to be received at published rates and to be sent off to Calcutta at the end of each month. Coins requiring deduction from its nominal value were made unfit to be returned to circulation and the treasury officers were now required to specify the rates at which they received the coin in an invoice to be forwarded together with the coin to the Presidency mint. The officers grumbled and wanted to disobey. But the English Collectors of the Districts now came to be fined for the offences of their subordinates and they took ample vengeance on their Indian treasury officers. The attempt of the Anglo-Indian government at currency reform was at last going to be successful.

But the policy of calling in debased coins, which formed two-thirds of the currency, required an adequate number of fresh coins to be issued by the government. This the Council was not in a position to do, especially owing to the drainage due to wars with Tipu Sultan of Mysore. As a result of the scarcity and consequent dearth of coins, prices of local produce sank to nominal rates. The poor peasant had to sell his whole crop at the cheap rate for his necessities or to give it to the money-lender in return for a few rupees advanced to him in the spring season. The distress was terribly increased by the urgent necessity of funds to prosecute the Mysore wars. In spite of all difficulties, however, the old Calcutta mint as well as those newly established at Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna were set up to vigorous work. On January 1, 1791, the "new-milled" rupees were issued at the four mints. On the 18th November of the same year, the Governor-General declared that "in future the sale of gold and silver coin shall be as free and unrestrained in every respect as the sale of gold and silver bullion, and the exchangeable value or price of each determined by the course of trade, in the same manner as the price of every other commodity that comes into the market".¹ On the 24th October, 1792, Lord Cornwallis further declared that after the first day of the Bengali year 1200, i.e. the 10th April, 1794, the full coinage should be the only legal tender and that "no person should be permitted to recover any sum of money under a bond or other writing, by which any species of rupees,

1. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

excepting the sicca rupees of the 19th San, is stipulated to be paid."¹ In the year 1794, however, a grace of another year was granted; but in the year following the Company's new and uniform currency ousted the "multitudinous, battered and debased rupees which had so long afflicted the people."

1. *Ibid*, p. 821.

A COIN OF KING SEBAKA

BY PRIN. V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

The coin described here is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, the well-known coin-collector of Hyderabad (Deccan). Mr. Kaus very kindly sent me good ink impressions of it and supplied me information about its size and weight. I publish the coin here as desired by him.



The coin is of copper, almost square in shape, measuring .85" by .80". It weighs 110 grains. It shows, on the obverse, a bull facing right with one *svastika* in front and another behind. The *svastika* in front is only partly visible on the coin. In front of the animal there is a hill or *chaitya* with six arches below the *svastika*. On the body of the bull is seen a tree in railing which appears to have been punched subsequently¹. Above the bull appears the legend placed obliquely. The reverse shows a *nāga* symbol and a *nandipada* disposed diagonally, having an orb in double lines with a pellet in the middle below² each. The orbs appear isolated. They were not apparently connected with others to form the well-known Ujjain symbol.

The legend on the obverse is *raṁṇo Sebaka[sa]*. It consists of six *aksharas* of which the last one is only partially preserved. The characters are of the early Brāhmi alphabet. The *anusvāra* of *raṁ* appears below the line, to the right of the *akshara*. The vertical stroke of *ṇ* is elongated. The curve which forms the right limb of *s* is not raised to the top. *B* is square in form and *k* dagger-shaped. The characters appear, on the whole, to be slightly later than those of the edicts of Aśoka and may be referred to the close of the third century B. C. The legend is in Prakrit, as on other early coins, and means that the coin is 'of the king Sebaka'.

Judging by the characters of the legend, the king Sebaka appears to have flourished during the period of decline of the

- 1 Why the tree symbol was punched on the body of the bull is not known. There are no signs of any other symbol being punched subsequently.
- 2 The block of the reverse of this coin was prepared from the negative side of the pencil impression by mistake. It therefore shows the orb *above* each symbol and not *below* it. Their real relative position is just the reverse, and can be ascertained by looking through this page from the back.

Maurya dynasty and before the rise of the Sātavāhanas. This conjecture receives confirmation from the fact that some of the symbols noticed here appear only on very early coins. The Nāga symbol, for instance, is seen on punch-marked coins and those from the country of Kuṇḍa in the Punjab.¹ In the South it is seen on some rare uninscribed lead coins which Rapson has doubtfully referred to the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas.² Isolated orbs such as are noticed here are also rarely met with.³ The symbols therefore indicate that this is one of the earliest coins of South India.

The provenance of the coin has not been recorded. We do not therefore know where king Sebaka was ruling, for the name does not occur in any dynastic list. But there is one circumstance which affords a clue. A similar coin was found at Pauni in the Bhaṇḍārā District of the Central Provinces and has recently been published by me in this *Journal*⁴. Like the present coin it is square in shape and has its legend similarly placed above the figure of a bull, facing right. The other symbols such as the *svastika*, the *nāga* and the double line orb do not occur on that coin, but the general resemblance of the two coins cannot be denied. The king Dimabhāga, who issued that coin, may therefore have belonged to the same dynasty as the king Sebaka of the present coin. The provenance of Dimabhāga's coin shows that this dynasty was ruling ancient Vidarbha comprising modern Berar, and the Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and the Hyderabad State. Sebaka, whose coin is of better fabric and has more symbols, seems to have flourished after Dimabhāga. The Sātavāhanas, who succeeded these kings in ancient Vidarbha, adopted the general type of their coins with some modifications. Their earliest copper coins are, like the present coin, square in shape and have a legend on the obverse⁵; but the latter, instead of being written horizontally begins at the lower left corner and is placed diagonally. The type was also changed, the bull yielding place to the elephant. Again the reverse of their coins shows four instead of two orbs connected by lines, the pairs being placed at right angles to each other to form the so-called Ujjain symbol. Notwithstanding these differences the early coins of the Sātavāhanas may be said to bear general resemblance to the issues of Dimabhāga and Sebaka. The latter kings may therefore have flourished in the latter half of the third century B. C.

¹ See *Coins of Ancient India*, edited by Allan, pp. 84, 159 f.

² *Coins of the Andhras*, etc. edited by Rapson, p. 53, Pl. VIII.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII. No. 207.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 9 ff.

⁵ See for instance the copper coin of Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty published in this number pp. 1-3; see also pp. 103-4.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE.

The present coin bears close resemblance to a lead square Andhra coin (Pl. VIII, 221), conjecturally attributed to Western India and described in *B. M. C.* of Andhra Coins at p. 55. The coin in the British Museum is rectangular in shape. On its obverse it has a Bull bearing a very striking resemblance to that animal on the present coin. The B. M. coin has a *nandipada* above the bull; on the present coin it is on the reverse. The tree in railing, which is on the obverse of the present coin, apparently superimposed at a later period, occurs on the reverse of the B. M. piece. *Svostika* and the three arched hill do not appear on the B. M. piece, but it has on its reverse a *nandipada* as is the case with the present coin. The B. M. coin has an Ujjain symbol on the reverse, and it is quite likely that the two knobs on the present coin are two limbs of a very large Ujjain symbol, too big to be fully accommodated on the coin. The Nāga symbol on the reverse occurs on some rare pieces from Andhradeśa, as observed by Principal Mirashi already.

I do not feel inclined to accept Principal Mirashi's view about the date of Sebaka. Palæography of the coin is no doubt rather early, but we should not forget that *sa*, almost similar to the present coin, appears as late as the 3rd century A. D.; for instance it occurs in some of the Ābhīra inscriptions of c. 200 A.D.; see Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, Table III. *Ka* of this coin shows a distinct tendency of the elongation of the vertical. It is quite hazardous to date king Sebaka, but I am not inclined to think that he belonged to the epoch of the decline of the Mauryas. The inscribed coinage had hardly made any progress even in northern India in c. 225 B. C. Northern kings followed the example of the Greeks and their practice was in turn copied by the southerners. To me it appears rather difficult to assume that a coin like the present one could have been struck even in northern India during the latter half of the 3rd century B. C. The symbols are bold and distinct; letters are well engraved; all this shows considerable experience and confidence in the mint masters. I am inclined to think that king Sebaka was one of the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, who ruled somewhere in Central or Western India in the 1st century B. C., which seems to me to be the probable date of the B. M. coin No. 221, referred to above. Inscribed coins of the present type and fabric were then current in the territories mentioned above: see, Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhras*, etc., p. xciv, and pl. I, 5-9. Rapson assigns these coins

to the age of Gautamīputra, but they may be a century or two earlier, since they continue the old Mālwa type. A number of the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas are known to have issued coins in the different provinces of their empire; Sebaka was probably one of them and had his principality somewhere in Eastern Mālwa or Western India. He must have ruled before these provinces were annexed by Nahapāṇa sometime about the end of the 1st century B. C.

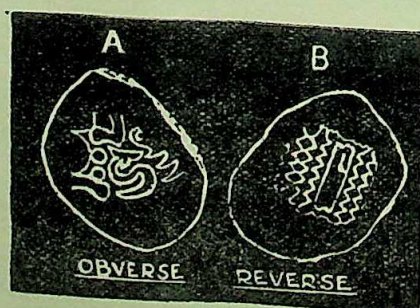
PIPLAJ HOARD OF INDO-SASSANIAN COINS.

A PRELIMINARY NOTE

BY MR. U. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., CURATOR, RAJPUTANA
MUSEUM, AJMER.

At Piplaj, a village about 15 miles to the south-west of Kekri in Ajmer-Merwara, a hoard of several hundred coins was recently found in the house of one Narain, son of Nola Kir, in the course of digging a pit. As the coins are stuck together in lumps, their precise number cannot be made out, but they appear to be more than 3,000. Even in unclean condition they seemed to be coins of antiquarian interest, and a request was therefore made to the district authorities by the Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for the acquisition of the entire hoard under the Indian Treasure-trove Act of 1878. They were accordingly acquired by the government and are at present in the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer. 350 typical pieces from this hoard have so far been scientifically cleaned for distribution among the Museums and other institutions which are entitled to receive treasure-trove coins under the orders of the Government of India. Their average weight is 61 grains.

All the pieces, so far treated, clearly show that they are without a single exception struck in rough imitation of the later Sassanian coinage of Persia, which according to V. A. Smith, "served as the model for a long series of Indian coinage" during the Medieval period. In better specimens we can unmistakably make out the traces of the king's head on the obverse (Fig. A) and the usual fire-altar with other accessory marks on the reverse (Fig. B); on some well-preserved pieces both can be made out. As can be seen from the obverse mark



(No. 1 on p. 99) the head of the king is turned to the right; and just in front of the conspicuous nose there is very probably a

crescent mark (Cf. mark No. 3 below). Below the nose and exactly in front of the mouth there is mark No. 2 below.¹ It may be specially noted here that though merely the forepart of



OBVERSE MARKS

the king's head is represented on the Piplaj coins, it is not always a crude copy of the Sassanian proto-type. In some of the coins examined, we find distinctly Indian features and a fine facial expression rather than the Sassanian one. Such modification of the original Sassanian type by the introduction of Indian elements was also pointed out by E. J. Rapson in his "Notes on Indian Coins and Seals:—"Whereas in the earliest Indian imitations almost all the characteristics of the Sassanian types are faithfully preserved, in the later issues struck in India itself, there is a well-marked tendency to gradual transformation from un-Indian to local features."² Even in the Piplaj hoard, we come across a few pieces which show very meagre traces of the Sassanian influence except a pillar-like object on the reverse probably in imitation of the fire-altar of the Sassanian coins.

In his *Indian Museum Catalogue*, V. A. Smith has grouped the unassigned base silver coins roughly imitating the later issues of Fīrōz, the Sassanian king, into—(A) North-Western type and (B) Eastern or Magadha type.³ Perhaps it may not be wrong to place the Piplaj variety in between these two classes as constituting a distinctly separate Rajputana group or type. But before hazarding such a new conclusion, I propose to examine closely all the coins from the Piplaj hoard and, if possible, to compare them with many unassigned pieces previously discovered in Mhairwarra⁴ (Merwara) and many parts of Mewar.⁵

In point of date, the coins from Piplaj may roughly be assigned to c. 550 A.D. to 700 A.D. Such a date seems to fit in with the date of other similar base silver coins previously found from various places in or about Rajputana.

[1 Mark 2 is quite common on a number of Gadhia coins. It looks like a Nāgarī ha of the contemporary times; but we do not yet know its significance. The mark No. 3 appears to be a remnant of the Pahlvi legend which originally went round the coin. *Chief Editor*]

2 J. R. A. S., 1900, pages 119 ff.

3 I. M. C., vol. I, pages 287 ff.

4 J. A. S. B., part I. 1890, page 168 and Plate V.

5 Webb's *Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana*. p. 4.

Of the coins of the present hoard, the typical ones of which have already been chemically treated and examined, not a single specimen is of pure silver. Outwardly they even looked like copper issues. But after the removal of the heavy incrustation deposited on them, it became quite apparent that the metal used is really impure silver considerably alloyed with copper and lead.

MISCELLANEA

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

INDO-SCYTHIAN MONOGRAM ON HERMAIOS' COINS.

In the June 1944 number of this *Journal*, pp. 11-13, I had published a coin of Hermaios in the collection of Mr. D. D. Ghosal of Calcutta, which bore an Indo-Scythian monogram usually occurring on the coins of Vonones and his associates, and observed that the coin was unique on account of the monogram it bore (p. 12). My observation was based upon an analysis of the data given in the published catalogues. But Dr. J. M. Unwala of Naosari and Major-General Sir Gordon Jolly of Simla have written to me to state that they have both of them in their collections a tetradrachm of Hermaios having precisely this monogram. It is thus clear that the occurrence of this monogram on the coin of Hermaios published above is not unique and that the data in the published catalogues have become considerably incomplete owing to the new acquisitions made by private collectors and museums. It is a pity that these new acquisitions should not be properly recorded in our research journals or in the supplements of museum catalogues. The *Journal* of our Society will be always very glad to announce new discoveries as soon as they are made, and it is to be hoped that the collectors and museum authorities will kindly extend their cooperation to us in this matter.

It is now clear that the coins of Hermaios with this particular monogram are fairly common. And yet when I first saw this monogram on the coin in Mr. Ghosal's collection, for a time it did not appear impossible to me that the coin may have been a forgery made under the direction of a modern historian, who was anxious to get numismatic evidence to prove that Hermaios was supplanted by Vonones and not by Kadphises I.

VAVAGHOSHA OR SIVAGHOSHA ?

Among the new kings of Madhyadeśa, attested to by their coins, which were published, *ante*, Vol. IV, pp. 1 ff, Vavaghosha is one of the most ancient ones; (Pl. 1, No. 1). The reading Vavaghosha is quite clear and unambiguous, but it is difficult to explain it. In a recent communication to my colleague Dr. V. S. Agrawala Sir Richard Burn has suggested that Vavaghosha may be identical with Sivaghosha, whose unique coin existing in his collection has been described by Mr. Allan in his *Catalogue of Coins in Ancient India*, p. cxii. Sir Richard

thinks that this so-called Vavaghosha may be identical with Kshatrapa Śivaghosha.

Now it is true that the coin of Vavaghosha was obtained at Mathurā, where Śivaghosha is known to have ruled as a Kshatrapa. But the two rulers cannot be identified. It is true that in Kushāṇa palæography a *śa* can be mistaken for a *va* on a blurred coin, the latter having no vertical. But the palæography of the coin of Vavaghosha is distinctly Asokan; *va* has got a long vertical in both the cases; the same is the case with *gha*. The reading of each letter on the Plate referred to above is distinct; and there is no doubt whatsoever that the legend reads Vavaghosa and not Śivaghosha. Palæography shows that Vavaghosa must have ruled at least three hundred years before Śivaghosha. The two cannot be therefore identified.

The types are also different. On the obverse of this coin of Śivaghosha, we have standing Lakshmī and Tree and a circular legend; on the coin of Vavaghosha, we have Svastika and two blurred symbols and the legend in a straight line. On the reverse of the coin of Śivaghosha we have Horse to left, and on the reverse of the coin of Vavaghosha there is Bull, Taurine symbol and Tree within railing.

Niether the clearly written legend, nor the palæography nor the type thus favours the view that Vavaghosa may be identical with the Kshatrapa Śivaghosha.

CHINESE COINS FROM TANJORE

In *Sino-India Studies*, Vol. I part 1, there is an interesting article by Dr. Bagchi on 20 Chinese coins discovered in Tanjore district in September, 1943. They are round in size with square holes in the centre, as is usually the case with Chinese coins. Their weights vary from 7.640 to 1.86. grammes. The earliest of the coins belong to the reign of K'aiyuan (713-742 A. D.), but they are only three in number. The remaining coins belong to the Song period and are of the 11th to the 13th century. The importance of this hoard lies in the fact that though the Chinese Buddhist record do not refer to any contact between China and India after 1053 A. D., the intercourse between China and Southern India continued for at least two centuries more. Chinese sailors in particular were intimately acquainted with Chola country and they seem to have brought with them the coins represented in this hoard. They were probably preserved in temple treasury, being offered there as presents.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE IN BIHAR UNDER THE HON'BLE COMPANY

There is a short article in the *J. B. O. R. S.*, Sep.-Dec. 1944, on the above subject by Dr. K. K. Basu. Rupees

from different mints, Dacca, Benares, Arcot, Farukkabad, etc. were current and as their weights were not uniform, *batta* varying from 1.9 to 18.3 per cent had to be given. Copper coins were Madosie, Faloos, Neem Faloos and Pav Faloos and they were equal to 160, 80, 40, and 20 cowries respectively.

BAHAL (E. KHANDESH DISTRICT) HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

In *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX (New Series), 1944, Mr. S. N. Chakravarti has published a short note on the above hoard. The hoard consisted of 685 coins, of which 106 were thin and large, 352, thick and small and the rest were intermediate in size. The coins have on the obverse five symbols and on the reverse one or two. The author points out that the discovery of thin and large pieces along with thick and large ones shows that both the types were current simultaneously. The Sun and the Six-armed symbol figure on most of the coins in the hoard. We hope that the author will publish a more detailed paper on the entire hoard when it is properly cleansed, showing which of the classes represented in the *British Museum Catalogue* or in the other well-known punch-marked hoards are represented in this hoard, and stating whether it includes any varieties, not so far known.

ANOTHER COIN OF KING SĀTAVĀHNA.

In his paper on 'A Coin of King Sātavāhana' published in this number, pp. 1-4, Prin. Mirashi has referred to a second coin of this ruler belonging to Mr. S.A. Joglekar, M.A., LL.B., of Poona. This coin has been now published in the recent number of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 141-2. Unfortunately the coin is illustrated on ordinary paper and so all its details have not come out well. It however appears fairly certain that it is of the same type as Mr. Kaus' coin published in Prin. Mirashi's paper. Mr. Kaus' coin is square, each side being .8". Mr. Joglekar's coin is rectangular, its size being .8" x .6". The weight of Mr. Kaus' coin is 110 grains, that of Mr. Joglekar's coin is 78 grains. Mr. Joglekar's coin being smaller shows only a small portion of the upper body of the elephant. It however shows the triangle-headed banner more clearly. The legend on Mr. Joglekar's coin is not transverse as on Mr. Kaus' coin but almost semi-circular. Messrs. Joglekar and Dikshit read the legend as *Siri Sadavāha(na)*, but the published facsimile of the coin, though blurred, shows immediately behind the elephant a clear *ra*, followed by the traces of another letter, which may have been a *ña*. *Ra* cannot be taken to be the tail of the elephant, because it is thinner near his body and thicker at the other end. In Mr. Kaus' coin, we have only traces of *ha* and no *na* at all;

in Mr. Joglekar's coin *ha* is complete and distinct and there are faint traces of the *na* following. The legend *Raño Sadavahanasa* may be therefore taken to be an absolute certainty. Both the coins show identical palæographical peculiarities; the *va* of both has a round base; *da* has an absolutely identical shape and is open to right: and the vertical of *sa* is shortened, being almost of the same height as the limb on the right. Mr. Kaus' coin does not enable us to infer the height of the vertical of *ha*; but Mr. Joglekar's coin makes it clear that the left vertical of *ha* was not higher than its right limb.

As far as the symbols are concerned, the peculiar symbol before the elephant is just visible on Mr. Joglekar's coin. The facsimile being indistinct, it is difficult to state whether the reverse of Mr. Joglekar's coin had a *nandipada* symbol or not; between the arms of its Ujjain symbol, there are traces of symbols similar to those on Mr. Kaus' coin.

It is thus clear that both the coins are identical in type and show that there was a king named Sadavahana or Sātavāhanā, and that he had issued coins.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, 1945

The Annual meeting of the Society for 1945 was held at the Government Museum Theatre, Madras, on the 31st December, 1945 and the 1st January, 1946 under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B. (Retired Director General of Archaeology in India). The following members attended the meeting :

1. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (President).
2. Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay.
3. Mr. E. P. Janzen, Bangalore.
4. Rao Bahadur S. T. S. Gopalachari, Madras.
5. The Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
6. „ „ Peshawar Museum, Peshawar.
7. The Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State.
8. The Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.
9. The Curator, State Museum, Pudukkottai.
10. The State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
11. The Curator, Indore Museum, Indore.
12. Mr. R. G. Gyani (Hon. Secy.).
13. „ C. R. Singhal, Bombay (Asstt. Secretary and Treasurer).

The Secretary placed for approval the names of the following members who joined the Society during the year 1945.

1. Major M. K. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau State.
2. Mr. K. C. Govel, Ex. Engineer, New Delhi.
3. Capt. C. R. Dotiwala.
4. Mr. P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S., Poona.
5. Dr. S. K. Banerji of Lucknow.
6. Mr. E. C. Fairhead of Cannanore.
7. „ Mahabir Singh Gahlot of Jodhpur.
8. Lt. Col. H. J. M. Hopkin of Jubbulpore.
9. Mr. E. P. Janzen of Bangalore.
10. „ P. M. Pillai of Salem.
11. „ F. E. Kummer of Calcutta.
12. „ Pradyuman of Chaklala.
13. The State Archaeologist, Rajpipla State.
14. Mr. R. C. Pandit of Patna.
15. „ Gangaram Samrat of Sann.

1. Resolved that the above admissions be approved.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

Income & Expenditure Account for the Year Ended on 30th November, 1945.

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
	Rs. as. ps.		Rs. as. ps.
To Library	..	Interest :	54 8 0
To Printing & Stationery	..	Postal Savings Bank a/c No. 478638
" Postage & Telegrams	..	Central Bank Home Savings a/c	..
" Sundry Expenses	..	No. 66900
" Honorarium	..		3 8 0
" Bank Charges
" Contribution	..	Subscriptions :	..
" Nelson Wright Model	..	Arrears	366 0 0
" Excess of Income over Expenditure	Current	379 7 0
		Advance	37 4 0
		Quinquennial	135 0 0
		Life Membership	200 0 0
			1,207 11 0
		Sale of Publications	181 4 0
		Advertisement Charges	6 0 0
			..
		Government Grants .	..
		Punjab Government for 1944-45	300 0 0
		Bombay Govt. for 1944-45, 1945-46	600 0 0
		Bihar Government for 1944-45	300 0 0
		Jaipur Government for 1944-45	200 0 0
		Hyderabad Govt. for 1945	200 0 0
			1,600 0 0
			3,052 15 0

65. Mahatma Gandhi Road,

Bombay, dated 20th December, 1945.

DINUBHAI & CO.

Registered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

Balance Sheet as at 30th November, 1945.

Funds & Liabilities	Rs. as. ps.		Property & Assets		Rs. as. ps.	
	Rs. as. ps.		Rs. as. ps.		Rs. as. ps.	
General Fund:						
As on 1-12-1944 as per Statement of 30th Nov. 1944.						
Add. Excess of Income over expenditure			Postal Cash Certificates maturing on 25-4-1947.		2,291 4 0	
Note:—The figures of Income & Expenditure are taken as per Income & Expenditure Account. The Subscription includes Life Membership Rs. 300/- and also subscriptions in advance.			Postal Cash Certificates maturing on 28-2-1950.		3,525 0 0	
			Postal Savings Bank A/c. No. 478633		1,432 4 10	
			Central Bank Home Savings a/c No. 66900		700 7 6	
			Central Bank C/A.		859 14 7	
			Cash on hand		66 1 0	
					8,874 15 11	
					8,874 15 11	

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and in our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

Bombay, Dated 20th December, 1945.

DINUBHAI & CO.

Registered Accountants,

Hon. Auditors.

The audited accounts of the Society for the year 1945 printed on pp. 106-7 of this number, were then placed before the Society by the Hon. Treasurer, which showed that the position of the Society was financially sound.

2. Resolved that the statement of accounts for the year 1945 be adopted and the Hon. Treasurer be thanked for his good work in raising the financial status of the Society and for improving the condition of books in the Taylor Library.

3. The following members were elected as admitted from the commencement of the year 1946 :—

1. Mr. Pattabiramin, of Pondicherry.
2. „ K. C. Panigrahi, M.A., Lecturer in History, Sambalpur College, Sambalpur (Orissa).

The Treasurer then informed that the members below were in arrears for more than three years and had not paid their dues in spite of repeated reminders. He added that according to the rules their names had to be deleted.

1. Mr. Jas. A. Connolly of Firozpur.
2. „ G. M. Kodolika of Bombay.
3. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal of Calcutta.
4. Mr. A. Master, I.C.S., England.
5. Mr. R. R. Sethi of Lahore.

4. Resolved that one more and final reminder be sent by registered post to these members and if they do not send in their dues within a reasonable period, their names may be deleted from the list of members of the Society.

The Hon. Treasurer pointed out that the Central Bank of India charges Rs. 6/- per annum as 'Incidental charges' on balances below Rs. one thousand in the Current A/C., and that the Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of Bombay do not charge any such fee.

5. Resolved that the C/A of the Society be transferred to some other suitable Bank in Bombay and that the accounts be operated by Messrs. R. G. Gyani and C. R. Singhal, jointly or severally, in their capacity of Secretary and Assistant Secretary & Treasurer respectively.

Specimen copies of Dr. Birbal Sahani's Memoir on "The Technique of casting coins in Ancient India", printed by the Society, was placed on the table and the members were informed of the expenditure incurred on that account.

6. Resolved that considering the heavy amount spent on the publication it should be priced at Rs. 10/-. The same should however, be supplied to the existing members at a concession

rate of Rs. 2/- per copy (Postage and packing extra). To those who join the Society in 1946 a discount of 50% be allowed.

Considered the proposal of publishing a Bibliography of Indian coins with copious notes by Mr. C. R. Singhal and the rate of remuneration to be given to him.

7. Resolved that Mr. Singhal be entrusted with the work of preparing a Bibliography on the lines discussed at the meeting and that a remuneration of Rs 2/8/- per printed page of the book be given to him for the work.

Considered the letter of Dr. V. S. Agrawala regarding the publication of Mr. C. D. Chatterji's paper on "Numismatic data in the Pali Literature" as a memoir of the Society.

8. Resolved that as the paper is already published some time back elsewhere and the author proposes to revise and enlarge it for the Memoir Series, a Committee consisting of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. V. S. Agrawala, and Dr. A. S. Altekar be appointed to go through the manuscript when ready, and decide whether to publish it as a memoir or a paper in the Journal. Mr. Chatterji should be requested to revise his paper and bring it up to date and send the manuscript to the Hon. Secretary as soon as it is ready.

Considered Dr. Altekar's proposal of publishing a critical, up-to-date and comprehensive work on Indian Numismatics in 4 volumes by the Society in view of the difficulty involved in consulting various catalogues and journals, often unavailable.

9. Resolved that the proposal be approved, but the volumes should be two instead of four. Dr. Altekar be requested to prepare the first volume on Ancient and Early Mediaeval coins up to 1200 A. D. The preparation of the second volume be entrusted to Dr. P. M. Joshi.

Considered the desirability or otherwise of continuing to bear the cost of preparing good photographs of coins to be published in the Journal in view of the remuneration that is being paid to the contributors.

10. Resolved that the policy be continued to ensure good and uniform illustrations. The Society may help the contributors by photographing or by taking out casts or rubbings, free of charge for them, if they submit the coins discussed in their papers to the Secretary for supplying well arranged plates, subject to the acceptance of their papers and illustrations by the Chief Editor.

Considered Dr. A. S. Altekar's letter asking to be relieved of the Editorship and for some clerical expenses for the past year.

11. Resolved that as the Society cannot afford to forgo the valuable services of Dr. Altekar in maintaining the present high standard of the Journal, he should be requested to continue for at least a year more. The Society places on record its grateful thanks for his sincere work.

It was also decided that Rs. 40/- should be sent to him to cover clerical charges for 1945 and that an amount of Rs. 100/- be sanctioned for the Editor's office expenses for 1946.

12. Considered Dr. Agrawala's suggestion contained in his letter to institute two more medals called the Samudragupta and Jahangir Medals in addition to the existing Nelson Wright Medal. These Medals be awarded to the works of outstanding merit in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Numismatics respectively. After some discussion it was resolved that the proposal be put off for the present.

The meeting then considered the election of the Managing Committee and office-bearers for the year 1946.

13. It was unanimously resolved that the Managing Committee for the year 1946 be constituted as under :—

President : Rao Bahadur K N. Dikshit, Poona.

Vice-President : Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Lucknow.

Secretary : Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.

Asstt. Secy. &

Treasurer : Mr. C. R. Singhal, Bombay.

Chief-Editor : Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

Associate „ : (1) Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.

(2) Mr. S. A. Shere, Patna.

Members :

(1) Dr. P.M. Joshi, Bombay.

(2) „ M. H. Krishna, Mysore.

(3) Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Cuttuck.

(4) The Curator, Peshawar Museum, Peshawar.

(5) The State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.

(6) The Supdt., Arch. Dept., Joâhpur.

Considered the award of Society's Medal for Numismatic work during the year 1945.

14. Resolved that the Society's Nelson Wright Medal be awarded to Dr. A. S. Altekar for his Numismatic researches during the year 1945.

Considered ways and means of stopping coins from going to the melting pot in view of the dearth of metals.

15. Resolved that all Provincial Governments and Indian States be requested to keep a check on the official sanction to the melting of gold, silver, or copper coins. Steps should be taken to get the collections examined by experts with a view to

find out that no coins of numismatic importance are melted down. The Society will find its way to purchase all such coins of numismatic importance at reasonable rates and make them available to the members of the Society or coin collectors. The Secretary be authorized to take practical steps in the matter and invest a reasonable amount if necessary in saving important coins from going to the melting pot.

Lists of coins collected this way and lists of spare Treasure Trove coins remaining back after distribution in various provinces may also be obtained and published in the Journal of the Society for the information of members.

The second sitting was held on the 1st January 1946 at 11 A.M. in the Museum Theatre.

16. At the outset, Rao Bahadur Dikshit read his Presidential Address which will be printed in the next number.

17. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, showed some silver larins from the Ratnagiri hoard of Treasure Trove coins and explained the peculiarity of the Bijapur and Persian larins issued from the mints of Dabul, Lar, Hormuz, etc. in the names of the Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur and Shahs of Persia respectively.

18. Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Curator, Indore Museum, read his notes on the Indore State currency and a new type of the Gadhaiya coins. In the later, instead of the Sasanian type of the Fire Altar and attendants, a fight between horsemen and soldiers is depicted, which according to the author, represents the Mālava king Yashodharman defeating the Hūṇas.

19. Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator, Patna Museum, reported the find of one hundred and thirty copper coins unearthed in the jungle of Kositnar, Police Station Bangabad, Sub-Division, Giridih, District Hazaribagh, on the 17th July 1945. He showed five specimens of this lot which were rudely cast and quite untrimmed. These were of the type of the Puri Kushan coins published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1919.

Because of the untrimmed condition Mr. Shere was of opinion that they were crude imitations of Kushan coins and probably belonged to c. 4th Century A.D.

Considered the venue of the next Annual Meeting of the Society.

20. Resolved that the next meeting may be held at Patna if an invitation from the Patna University is received within two months. Otherwise arrangements may be made to have the meeting at Benares with the co-operation of the Curator, Bharat Kalabhavan Museum, Benares.

21. Resolved that the Society places on record its grateful thanks to the authorities of the Government Museum, Madras, for inviting the Society to hold its annual deliberations in the Museum Theatre and for extending the co-operation of the Museum staff.

RULES FOR THE TAYLOR LIBRARY.

1. Books are available for the use of all members residing in India.
2. Borrowers will pay the carriage both on the issue and return of books.
3. No books may be retained for more than one month at a time without the written authorization of the Officer in charge.
4. Books may not be transferred from one member to another or lent to a non-member.
5. Not more than two books can be issued at a time.
6. In case of valuable books a deposit of Rs. 20/- is required from members other than Museums and Government Institutions.
7. The books can be obtained from Mr. C. R. Singhal of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

RULES OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

1. The object of the Numismatic Society of India is to promote the study of the monetary issues and medals of India by the publication of documents and papers relating to Indian coins and medals, the encouragement of the collection and preservation of old coins and the advancement of historical research. The Society is intended to be the central co-ordinating body which will promote the knowledge and guide the study of Indian Numismatics.

2. The Society shall consist of Patrons, Benefactors, Life Members and ordinary Members. The Managing Committee shall be formed of the office-bearers of the Society, viz. (1) The President, (2) The Vice-President, (3) Chief Editor with one or more Associate Editors, (4) The Secretary, (5) The Assistant Secretary and Treasurer and (6-11) six members. The officers and other members of the Committee shall be elected for each year at the Annual Meeting for the preceding year. Vacancies occurring during the year shall be filled in by the Managing Committee.

3. (a) Persons interested in Numismatics, who study the coins for the sake of knowledge or who collect them for purposes of study and research, are eligible for membership of the Society. They shall be proposed and seconded by two members. Such proposals shall be approved by the Managing

Committee, provided the candidates are not regular dealers in coins or being dealers have given an undertaking that they will not deal in coins in future.

(b) The Secretary and the Assistant Secretary are authorised to enrol members without obtaining the approval of the Managing Committee in individual cases, provided their names are circulated to the Managing Committee for final approval at the expiry of six months.

4. (a) The annual subscription will be six rupees, with a quinquennial composition subscription of Rs. 25 for residents in India and 8 shillings with a quinquennial composition subscription of 2 pounds for residents abroad. Patrons will be those who pay Rs. 500 or more; benefactors will be those who pay more than Rs. 200 and less than Rs. 500; and life members will be those who pay Rs. 100 or more. Members elected after the 1st October in any year will not be liable to pay any subscription for that year.

(b) Life membership is open only to an individual person and no institution can be enrolled as a Life member of the Society.

5. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter in advance on the 1st January of each year.

6. (a) A member at any time may resign his membership by notice in writing; such resignation shall take effect from the date on which it reaches the Secretary.

(b) Members who resign after being in arrears cannot be re-enrolled as members of the Society, unless and until they pay off their previous dues.

7. (a) Any member whose subscription remains unpaid on the 1st July of the year in which it is due shall be reminded of his default by the Treasurer, and if his subscription is still unpaid on the date of the next annual meeting, he shall cease to receive the Society's publications, and shall, if the Committee so determine, cease to be a member of the Society.

(b) The names of the members who have not paid their subscription for three years or more may be struck off after sending them a final notice.

8. The administration of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Managing Committee which shall have power to decide all matters not provided for by the Rules.

9. Members shall be entitled to receive all the publications of the Society.

10. Owing to the widely scattered residences of Members the holding of ordinary meetings except under special circum-

tances is impracticable. An annual meeting shall be held at or about the end of each calendar year (a) to receive and consider the Reports of the officers of the Society, and to pass the accounts, (b) to appoint office-bearers and members of the Managing Committee for the ensuing year, (c) to discuss and decide any proposals and recommendations which may be brought before the annual meeting, and (d) to read and discuss research papers on numismatics and history.

11. No amendment of these Rules shall take effect unless it has been approved by the Committee and voted by at least three fourth of the number of the members present at an annual meeting of the Society.

List of the Members of the Society.

Patron :

H. H. The Maharajadhiraj Maharana Sri Bhupalsinghji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar).

Life Members :

Dongre, R. V., 384, Lamington Road, Bombay 4.
 Govel, K C., B.Sc., Executive Engineer, Coal Mines, Welfare Division, C.P.W.D., Dhanbad (Bengal).
 Law, B. C., Dr. M.A., Ph. D., 43, Kailas Bose, Street, Calcutta.
 Nahar, B.S., B.A., 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
 Patel, I. B., B.A., LL.B., Laxmi Nivas, Vachhagandhi Road, Bombay 7.
 Powills, Michael, A, 9645, South Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois (U. S. A.).
 Raghubir Singh, Major, M.K., Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau (C. I.).
 Sahni, Dr. Birbal, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
 Zoubor Paul Bolschay Alexeieleskaya, Moscow, Russia.

Original Members :

Burn, Sir Richard, Kt., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.), F.R.A.S.B., 9, Staverton Road, Oxford.
 Whitehead R.B., I.C.S., F.R.A.S.B., Millington Road, Cambridge, England.

Ordinary Members :

1922. Acharya, G. V., B. A., Harsha Sadan, Ganesh Falia, Junagadh.
 1932 Agarwal, Jai Krishna, Canning College Office, Lucknow.
 1946 Agrawala, V.S, Dr., Supdt. C.A.A. Museum, New Delhi.
 1911 Allan, J., M.A., British Museum, London, W. C.
 1931 Altekar, A.S., M.A., LL.B., D. LITT, Professor of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Benares Hindu University.
 1937 Antani, V. R., M.A., Military Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Chamba, Chamba, Dalhousie.
 1913 Bendorawala, Cooverjee Nowrojee, B.A., Patuck's Bungalow, opposite Minerva Cinema, 91, Lamington Road, Tardeo, Bombay.
 1940 Banerji, A. N. 16A. Furria Pukur Street, Calcutta.
 1930 Banerji, J. N. Dr., M. A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, 28, Manoharpukur Road, Kalighat P. O., Calcutta.

- 1944 Banerji, Priyatosh, C/o P.N. Banerji, Imperial Bank of India, Patna (Bihar).
- 1941 Banerji, S., M.A., L.T., P.E.S., Head Master, Government High School, Mirzapur (U. P.).
- 1945 Banerji, Dr. S. K., Professor, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1939 Baron, B. K. Bar-at-Law, "Marine Hall" Springe Road, Mussoorie (U. P.)
- 1940 Bhagavad Dutt, Pandit, Vedic Research Institute, 9c Model Town, Lahore.
- 1940 Bhandarkar, D. R., M. A., PH.D., 2/1 Lovelock Street, Calcutta.
- 1940 Bhat, B. W., Hon. Secretary, Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia.
- 1934 Biddulph, C. H., Major I. E., Dist. Engineer, South Indian Railway, Tinnevely (S.I.).
- 1911 Botham, The Hon'ble Mr. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S., The Manor House Alford, Lincolnshire.
- 1942 Bullock, H., Brigadier, O. B. E., F. R. Hist. S. Judge-Advocate General in India, "Brightlands", Simla.
- 1943 Carrington, A. H. Major, Corporation St. Birmingham (England),
- 1924 Chakraborty, Dr. Surendra Kishore, M.A., Ph D., Professor of History, Anandamohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal.
- 1934 Chatterji, C. D., Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1934 Chattopadhyaya, Kshetresachandra, M. A., Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- 1935 Chaudhury, Haridas Majumdar, P. O. Narayandahar, Mymensingh District, Bengal.
- 1945 Chinmulgund, P. J., I.C.S., Dy. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Central Offices, Poona.
- 1944 Coachman, K. R., 16 Cowasji Patel Street, Bombay 1.
- 1942 Contractor, K. N., c/o Somerset Mess, 223 E.I. Lines, Kachhi.
- 1915 Contractor, Sorabshaw M., Umrigar Building, Ormiston Road, Apollo Reclamation, Bombay.
- 1934 Dar, Mukat Bihari Lal, B.SC., LL.B., Under Secretary to Govt. of India, Commerce Department, New Delhi.
- 1931 Darbar Shree Wala Bhaya Nathu, Talukadar of Bhayawadar, Post Bhayawadar, via Kunkavav, Kathiawad.
- 1934 Darbari, M. D. B. COM., F.S.A.A.R.A., 100, Clive Street, Calcutta.
- 1930 Dikshit, K. N. Rao Bahadur, M. A., F. R. A. S. B., R. B. Chitale's Bungalow, Poona 4.
- 1945 Dotiwalaa, Capt. C. R.---

- 1935 Driver, Dorab Cursetji, M.A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, of Messrs. Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., 102A, Clive Street, Calcutta
- 1945 Fairhead; E.C., C.D.R.E., C/o Lloyds Bank, High Street, Burton-on-Trent, Staffs, U.K.
- 1938 Faizullah Khan, Secretary, District Local Board, Lyallpur, Punjab.
- 1922 Forrer, L, 1 Helvetia, 24, Homefield Road Bromley Kent, England.
- 1937 Gadre, A S., M.A., Archæological Department, Baroda.
- 1945 Gahlot, Mahavir Singh, Merti gate, Jodhpur.
- 1944 Ganda Singh, Prof. Khalsa College, Amritsar.
- 1944 G. Takht Singh, Miss M. A., Inspectress of Schools, Kapurthala (Punjab)
- 1920 Ghanshyam Das, Rai Bahadur, Commissioner, (Retd.) Ghazipur (U. P.).
- 1928 Ghosal, D. D., Retd. Superintendent, Calcutta Improvement Trust, 85, Tantipara Lane, P. O. Santragachi. Howrah.
- 1929 Ghose, A., M.A., 42, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
- 1946 Ghose, S. K., Maniari Canal Officer, P. O. Narkatiaganj, (O. & T. Rly.), Distt. Champaran.
- 1936 Gopalachari, S. T. Srinivas, (Rao Bahadur), Advocate, "Sambanda Vilas", Raja Annamalai Chetty Road, Vepery, Madras.
- 1940 Gupta, Parmeshwari Lall, $\frac{6}{4}\frac{3}{2}$ Victoria Park (north) Benares.
- 1933 Gyani, R. G., M.A., Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1930 Harish Chandra, I. C. S., 12 Hamilton Road., George Town, Allahabad.
- 1926 Heras, H., Rev., Father, Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay 2.
- 1945 Hopkin, H.J.M., Lt., Col ; I.A.O.C., C/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
- 1944 Hurmuz Kaus, 128 Public Garden Rd., Hyderabad (Dn.)
- 1943 Ishaque, M., B.SC., M.A., Ph.D. (Lon.). 159 B. Dharamtala St., Calcutta.
- 1923 Jalan, Radha Krishna, Dewan Bahadur, Quila House, Patna City.
- 1945 Janzen, E.P., C/o L.F. Janzen, 3132 Atwater Avenue, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.
- 1939 Jolly, G. G. Major-General, C.I.E., I.M.S., United Service Club, Simla.
- 1939 Joshi, P. M., M.A., Ph.D., University Library, Bombay.
- 1946 Kar, R.C., M.A., P. 60/B, New Shambazar, St. Calcutta.
- 1944 Khanchandani, J. K., Prof., Hirabad Quarter, D. G. N. College, Hyderabad (Sind).

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

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- 1944 Khareghat, R. M., Lt. Col., I. M. S., Civil Surgeon, C/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
- 1944 Khattak, Muhammad Azam Khan, K. R. K. Sub-Division, P. W. D., Peshawar.
- 1929 Khwaja Muhammad, Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 1938 Khunilal, Lala, Rais & Zamindar, Kanauj.
- 1944 Kishori Saran Lal, M.A., 33—B, Beli Road, Allahabad.
- 1915 Kotwall, Khurshedjee Eduljee, Divisional Forest Officer (Retired), Tithal Road, Bulsar, Dist. Surat.
- 1940 Krishna, M. H., M.A., Director of Archæology, Mysore State, Mysore.
- 1938 Khrishnamacharlu, C. R., Rao Bahadur, 'Ajanta', Tyagarajnagar, Madras.
- 1943 Krishnamoortty, P. D. C/o T. P. A. Mannar Krishna Iyer & Sons., Madura & Benares Cloth Merchants, Ruede Grand Bazar, Pondicherry, (S. I.)
- 1944 Kummer, F. E., Manager, West End Watch Co., 16 Old Court House St. Calcutta.
- 1944 Mahajan, Vidya Dhar, Prof., S. D. College, Lahore.
- 1926 Martin, Major, M. F. C., R.E., C/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
- 1941 Mathuram, Dr. N. D., Guru Medical Hall, Puthur, Trichinopoly.
- 1937 Mehta, Pratapray G., C/o Jaipur Metal Industries, Jaipur.
- 1915 Meigh, W. A., Dole Spring House, Forsbrook, Blythe Bridge, Stoke-on-Trent, England.
- 1936 Mirashi V. V., Mahamahopadhyaya, Principal, Morris College, Nagpur.
- 1925 Modi, Jagmohandas K., Leila House, Bandra (Bombay).
- 1937 Moti Chandra, Dr., M.A., Ph.D., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1930 Moukvi, Shamsuddin Ahmad, M.A., Superintendent, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- 1944 Muinuddin, S., The Doon School, Chand Bagh, Dehradun.
- 1946 Muhammad Abdul Wali Khan, Hyderabad Museum, Public Garden, Hyderabad (Dn.).
- 1939 Naithani H. V., M.A., Treasury Officer, Basti (U. P.)
- 1941 Nanjee, Choonilal D., "Satya Vilas" 16, Manordas Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 1939 Pai M. P., I. C. S., Controller of Coffee, Indian Coffee Market Expansion Board, Bangalore,
- 1941 Pande B. P., Major, B.A., LL.B., F.R.E.S., Dewan, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
- 1945 Pandit, R.C., Bank of Behar, Patna,

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- 1946 Panigrahi, K.C., Govt., College, Sambalpur (Orissa).
 1938 Pannalal Manilal, C/o Bhogilal M. Sonawala, 69, Marine Drive, Bombay.
 1940 Pavri, F.P., Pavri House, Gunbow Street, Fort, Bombay.
 1945 Pillai, P. M., "Kumaran Nilayam," Sahadevapuram, Salem (S. I.).
 1946 Pittabiramin, P. Z., 52 Big Bazar St., Pondichery.
 1944 Powar, A. G., Dr. M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
 1945 Pradyuman, Draughtsman, Chief Inspectorate of Mechanization, Chaklala (Panjab).
 1917 Prayag Dayal, R. B., 80, Latouche Road, Lucknow.
 1937 Pusalkar, A. D., M.A., LL.B., 'Usha', 118, Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay.
 1912 Raja Sir Muhammad Ejaz Rasul Khan, kt., C.S.I., M.L.C., Raja of Jahangirabad, Barabanki, U. P.
 1925 Rameshwar Dayal, Pt. B.A., Deputy Collector, Agra, (U.P.)
 1941 Rao, Uttam Singh, B.A., Official, Jind State, Krishna Basti, P. O. Sangrur (Jind State),
 1940 Rath, P.C., B.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Patna State, (E.S.A.) P.O. Bolangir.
 1944 Rode, V. P., Arch. Asstt. Central Museum, Nagpur.
 1933 Rudra Partapsing, Rao Bahadur, M.L.C., Sonbarsa Raj, Bhagalpur.
 1920 Sah, Shri Nath, Durga Kund, Benares.
 1945 Samrat, Ganga Ram, SANN (Sindh).
 1940 Sen, S. N., Keeper, Nepal Museum, Kathmandu, (Nepal).
 1945 Sh. Abdur Rashid, M.A., 8, Shibli Road, Muslim University, Aligarh.
 1943 Shah, P.G., M.A., Lalit Kunj, 11th Road, Khar Bombay.
 1935 Sharma, L. P., Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakoshal Historical Society, Balpur, P.O. Chandrapur (Bilaspur) C. P., via Raigarh, B.N. Rly.
 1940 Sharma, Shri Ram, Principal D. A. V. College, Srinagar (Kashmir).
 1944 Sherwani, H. K., M. A., Professor, Rahat Fiza, Himayaknagar, Hyderabad, Deccan.
 1934 Sheth, Bithaldas, M. A., Dy. Collector, Lakhimpur Kheri (U. P.)
 1943 Shukla, S.M., Manager, Raval Tiles & Marble Factories, Arthur Bunder, Colaba, Bombay.
 1944 Singh Roy, Subhendu, Village Manirambati, P. O. Chakdighi, Distt. Burdwan, or 15 Landsdown Road, Calcutta.
 1928 Singhal C. R. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY 121

- 1939 Singhi, Narendra Singh, M.Sc., B.L., 48, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
- 1939 Singhi, Rajendra Singh, B. Com, 48, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
- 1940 Sircar, D. C., M.A., Ph.D., 93/4 Manoharpukur Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
- 1944 Sitholey, B. S., M.G.O. Branch, General Head Quarters, New Dehli.
- 1937 Sohoni, S. V., M.A., I.C.S., 17 Cantoment Road, Cuttuck.
- 1924 Stapleton, H. E., Dr. M.A., B.Sc., F.R.A.S.B., Sands St. Brelade, Jersey C. I. England.
- 1935 Subba Naicker, Zamindar of Sevalpatti, Sevalpatti P. O. (Madras Presidency).
- 1943 Subhedar, R. K., B.A., Curator, Ajanta Caves, Ajanta, (Aurangabad Distt.)
- 1935 Talvalkar, V. R., A. R. I. B. A., 40, Hughes Road, Bombay 7.
- 1925 Tarapore, Capt. P.S., His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Army Medical Service, Sweet Auburn, Near Chanderghat Bridge, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 1918 Taraporevala, V.D.B, B.A., 79 Koregaon Park, Poona.
- 1935 Thakore Mahendrasinhji, K., B.A., LL.B., Bombay Civil Service (Jdl), Nandurbar.
- 1926 Thorburn, Philip, 86, Rochester Row, West Minister, London, S. W. I.
- 1940 Touche, R. J. De., Terrace flat, Shirin Manzil, Walton Road, Bombay.
- 1943 Unvala, J. M., M. A., Ph. D., Parsi Student's Hostel' Gamadia Colony, Tardeo, Bombay.
- 1934 Upadhyaya, S. C., M.A., Curator, Victoria & Albert Museum, Byculla, Bombay.
- 1944 Varshneya, B. S., B. A., Ganesh Bhavan, Baniapara, Aligarh.
- 1936 Vats, Madho Sarup, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, N. C., Agra.
- 1942 Venkataramana, Y., M.A., P. R. College, Cocanada.
- 1920 Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.), C/o Lloyd's Bank, Cox's & King's Branch, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.I.
- 1916 The Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
- 1917 The Curator, Central Museum, Lahore.
- 1920 The Hon, Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajkot (Kathiawar).
- 1923 The Secretary of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1924 The Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 1924 The Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
- 1936 The Curator, The Museum, Indore.
- 1936 The Curator, Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra.

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- 1940 The Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur.
- 1946 The Curator, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi.
- 1940 The Secretary, Provincial Museum, Orissa, Cuttack.
- 1941 The Curator, Peshawar Museum, Peshawar.
- 1941 The Curator, Dacca Museum, Dacca.
- 1941 The Curator, State Museum, Pudukkottai (S. I.)
- 1941 The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
- 1942 The Secretary, Municipal Museum Committee, Allahabad.
- 1942 The Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
- 1912 The Director General of Archæology in India, New Delhi.
- 1938 The Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
- 1945 The State Archaeologist, Rajpipla State, Rajpipla (Via Ankleshwar, B. B. & C. I. Rly.).
- 1941 The Superintendent, Archæological Department, Government of Jodhpur, Jodhpur.
- 1943 The Superintendent of Archæology, Jaipur State, Jaipur.
- 1931 The State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Bâripada.
- 1946 The Principal, Meerut College, Meerut (U. P.)
- 1942 The Hon. General Secretary, Archæological Society, Bahauddin College, Junagadh.
- 1943 The Asst. Secretary, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.
- 1939 The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund.
- 1940 The Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
- 1918 The Secretary, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
- 1925 The Hon. Secretary, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Apollo Street, Bombay.
- 1939 The Librarian, University Library, Bombay.
- 1940 The Librarian, Hindu University, Benares.
- 1940 The Librarian, Nagpur University, Nagpur.
- 1942 The Librarian, Punjab University Library, Lahore.
- 1943 The Librarian, B. J. Wadia Library, Fergusson College, Poona.
- 1943 The Librarian, University Library, Allahabad.
- 1944 The Librarian, Gurukula University, Gurukula Kangri (U. P.).
- 1945 The Librarian, Calcutta University Library, Ashutosh Bldg., Calcutta.
- 1940 The Director, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar.
- 1940 The American Numismatic Society, Broadway, at 156th Street, New York City.

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS

Memoir No. III of the Numismatic Society of India on "The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India" by Dr. Birbal Sahni is out. It is priced at Rs. 10/- but the concessional price of this book has been fixed at Rs. 2/-, excluding the postal charges, to the old members and Rs. 5/- to those who join the Society after 1945. Those members who desire to buy their copies are requested to send the amount of the price and postage 12 as. by M.O. to the address of the Treasurer of the Society, C/o Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, who will arrange to despatch copies of the Memoir to their address. A copy will also be sent by V. P. P., in case it is so desired

The Publication Programme of the Journal

I very much regret that, as announced in the last number, it did not become possible to bring out the present Hodiwala Commemoration Volume in February 1946; it is being issued nearly four months later. Abnormal press troubles in Benares are partly responsible for this delay; it was also due to the necessity of sending most of the proofs of the thirty different papers included in the present volume to their different authors, scattered all over India. Some of the block-makers also made abnormal delay in preparing the blocks.

Prospective contributors are hereby informed that papers received till the end of July 1946 can be included in the next number of the Journal, which we hope to publish by the end of October 1946 at the latest. The following are some of the important papers that will be included in the number.

A. S. Altekar : New and important Coins from Kauśāmbī.
" Some rare Indo-Greek Coins.
" Some rare Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins.

" A new Variety of Punch-marked Coins.

Bajpeyi : A Kośala Hoard of Punch marked Coins.

K. N. Dikshit : Presidential Address, 1945.

Singh Roy : Two new Coins from Kauśāmbī.

Khare : A unique Silver Coin of Akbar.

Agrawala : A Kanishka Coin with Buddha on the reverse.

" Silver Māshaka coins and their symbols.

Gupta : Punch-marked Coins from Bairat.

Altekar and Diskalkar : Gadhia Coins with Horseman reverse.

" " A new Hoard of Ujjain Coins.

Mirashi : A Coin of Sātakarni.

Jagannath : King and Queen Type of Skandagupta.

5-6-1946.

A. S. ALTEKAR





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